SIKHS AND THE REBELLION OF 1857

by

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B.A., University of the Panjab, 1947

A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF

THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF

MASTER OF ARTS

in the Department

of

History

We accept this thesis as conforming to the required standard

THE UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA

September, 1970

Department of History

The University of British Columbia
Vancouver 8, Canada

Date August 28, 1970

ABSTRACT

This thesis investigates the relation of the Sikhs to the Indian rebellion of 1857. References to the Sikhs have invariably been made in the histories of the sepoy mutiny, but none of them, not even the celebrated Sepoy War of Sir John Kaye, tackles this problem in detail. As a result, the student of the mutiny at best gets from these histories disjointed, and often inadequately explained, impressions about the role of the Sikhs during the great upheaval. This thesis accordingly sets out to analyze the effects of the sepoy mutiny on the history of the Sikhs.

I have examined four main aspects of the problem: (1) the annexation of the Sikh kingdom by the British in 1849 and conditions in the Punjab between annexation and the outbreak of the rebellion of 1857; (2) the actual help given by the Sikhs to the British during the rebellion; (3) the motives of the Sikhs for giving their help; and (4) the rewards of the Sikhs for supporting the British during the crisis of 1857.

The Sikhs established their political ascendancy in the Punjab on the ruins of the Mughal empire. During the first two decades of the 19th century most of the twelve misls or confederacies of the Sikhs were conquered and united into one kingdom by Ranjit Singh. However, the timely

protection given by the British in 1809 to the Sikh chiefs of the Cis-Sutlej checked Ranjit Singh's expansionist designs beyond the Sutlej River.

During his lifetime Ranjit Singh wisely remained on friendly terms with the British, but after his death the factious intrigues of his successors and the Sikh army plunged the Sikh kingdom into hostilities with the British. The defeat of the Sikhs in the wars of 1845-46 and 1848-49 resulted in the annexation of their kingdom by the British.

After annexation the British showed moderation in dealing with the Sikhs and did not degrade them to the position of a landless class. Meanwhile the Sikhs, resigned to their fate, quickly adapted themselves to the new institutions which were established in the Punjab between 1849 and 1857. But the indifference of the British toward the interests of the Sikhs, and the Government's policy of extending patronage to Hindustanis, hurt both their feelings and their interests.

The rebellion of 1857 provided the Sikhs with a unique opportunity to secure a change of attitudes by the British. They seized that opportunity and gave every help to the British, whose military power they believed was unchallengeable. After the suppression of the mutiny the Sikhs received generous rewards from their rulers. They were also given the one reward that would satisfy them most--British indifference gave way to British interest in their welfare.

My investigation of the problem leads me to the conclusion that the outbreak of the sepoy mutiny unexpectedly ushered in brighter days for the Sikhs and laid the foundation for their future growth and strength in the Punjab.

Dr. P. Harnetty,
Supervisor

H. S. Sara

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to express my thanks to the director of my thesis, Dr. P. Harnetty, whose unfailing guidance made possible the completion of this effort.

My thanks are also due to the Staff of the Library of the University of British Columbia for their assistance in obtaining source material.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

When the Bengal Army mutinied in May, 1857, one of the most anxious questions before the British was: how would the Sikhs in the Punjab behave? Between May 10, 1857, when the sepoys first mutinied at Meerut, and the fall of Delhi on September 14 of the same year, British rule in India hinged on the behaviour of the Sikhs.

During those four months the sepoy mutiny gradually changed into a more general rebellion involving the civil population in Oudh and the North-Western Provinces. All communications between Bengal and the Punjab were cut off, the small British force that was scattered over the plain of the Ganges was almost wiped out, and the British authority in central North India virtually ceased. The withdrawal of the Royal and the East India Company's European troops from Upper India to fight in the Crimea and Persia had proved disastrous; to restore British authority, reinforcements of Europeans were urgently needed. Immediate steps were taken to recall some of the European troops that had been sent out of India but they could not reach India for several months. Almost 10,000 European soldiers belonging to the Royal and the Company's forces were stationed in the Punjab, and half of them were guarding the western extreme of the new

province. How much of this ten thousand-man force John Lawrence, the Chief Commissioner of the Punjab, could send to retake the imperial city of Delhi--the quick recapture of which was politically imperative--depended upon the internal situation in the Punjab. In addition to the Europeans, more than thirty-six thousand sepoys of the Bengal Army were also stationed in the Punjab. They, too, were disaffected. If the Sikhs joined them, not one European soldier could be spared to relieve the beleaguered garrisons in Hindustan.

The European force stationed in the Punjab had the difficult task of checking the raids of the turbulent and fanatical Pathan tribes along the Indo-Afghan frontier. Beyond the frontier the Afghans were rumoured to have assembled a force of twenty thousand men to plunder the frontier towns. Fortunately, Dost Mohammed Khan, the Amir of Afghanistan, remained a loyal friend of the British and he kept the trouble-makers in his camp under restraint. In the face of the Persian menace and the ever-existing danger of revolt by the Duranis, the Afghan tribe whose throne the Barakzai tribe of Dost Mohammed had usurped in 1823, the Amir really could not afford to lose British good will. However, the Amir was now old and maintained his own precarious position with the help of a monthly subsidy of one lakh of rupees (£10,000 sterling) from the Government of India. If the Amir suddenly died or were overthrown, an Afghan invasion would then be a certainty, in which case the Sikhs in the Punjab would surely rise to re-establish their kingdom which they

had lost only eight years previously. Therefore, to denude the Punjab of European troops seemed as risky as to delay sending the reinforcements to Delhi. Some European reinforcements could come from the comparatively smaller Bombay and Madras armies, but the local authorities in south India were also losing faith in the fideltiy of their sepoys and were applying for European soldiers in great numbers.

While the Government of India faced this dilemma, John Lawrence made his first move. Just a week after the outbreak of the sepoy mutiny on May 10, three regiments of European infantry and one of cavalry left the Punjab for Delhi. The European subordinates of John Lawrence complained bitterly that he was denuding the Punjab of European troops. But Lawrence, who was at first mistrustful of the loyalty of his own province and was reluctant to enlist the aid of the Sikhs, had soon altered his views. For the Sikhs not only remained peaceful but eagerly assisted the local authorities in apprehending the mutinous sepoys at many places in the Punjab. Thus, encouraged by the loyal behaviour of the Sikhs, John Lawrence lost no time in raising a new Punjab corps. Throughout the course of the rebellion in Hindustan, the Sikhs liberally helped the British with both men and money. An uprising of the Sikhs at this time could have proved fatal to the British cause but the Sikhs proved their staunch supporters. How can their attitude be explained? Had they forgotten that only eight years previously they had been locked in a life and death struggle at Chillianwala against

the Feringhees?

The evidence shows that by 1857 the Sikhs had become resigned to their fate and had accepted the fact that the British were a mightier power than they. A power that could crush the Khalsa was in their view invincible. Therefore, when the sepoy mutiny broke out, they believed that the British would weather this storm and that it would be folly to oppose them. The dictates of prudence and expedience, motives of reward and punishment, were the primary factors which persuaded the Trans-Sutlej Sikhs to throw in their lot with the British.

The Sikh princes of the Cis-Sutlej states also believed in the invincibility of the British, and, like their brethren who lived north of the Sutlej River, they too aided the British for reasons of expediency and self-interest.

CHAPTER 2

BEFORE THE STORM

The British annexed the Punjab in 1849 and made it a Chief Commissioner's province in 1853. It then comprised that portion of Ranjit Singh's kingdom which was annexed to the British Indian Empire in March, 1849 (later designated as "Punjab Proper"), the Jullundur Doab (those provinces of Ranjit Singh's kingdom which were lost to the Sikh nation in 1846), and the Cis-Sutlej States. The Chief Commissioner's province was 81,625 square miles in area and had a population of nearly thirteen millions. Two-thirds of the population was Muslim, one-sixth was Hindu, and the remaining one-sixth was Sikh. The province contained every variety of land; there were sandy deserts in the south, grassy plains in its central parts, and a belt of fertile, alluvial soil stretching along the Himalayan range in the north. Most of its cities, such as Lahore and Amritsar, were situated in this northern agricultural belt. The leading castes of the Punjab that furnished soldiers and husbandmen were the Jats, Gujurs, Rajputs, Pathans, Dogras and Khutrees. Of all these castes the Jats were by far the most important. They were excellent agriculturists and had remained for centuries a political power between the Jamuna and Indus rivers.[1]

During the late eighteenth century the Sikhs had

become paramount in the Punjab. By 1800 their organization had improved under capable leaders, they had vanquished the local Mughal and Pathan governors, and their misls had successfully turned back the flood of plunderers and adventurers from Turkestan, Iran, and Afghanistan. The rule of the Sikh sirdars or chiefs was paternal and sympathetic, and they commanded the respect and devotion of their subjects.[2] Internecine wars for political supremacy were frequent among the misls and within a misl. Although according to the constitution of the Khalsa (the Elect) the basic principle of the creed was fraternity, and vassalage or feudal superiority was disallowed, yet by 1812 a descendant of the Jat Sansi tribe of Amritsar district and leader of the Sukarchakia confederacy had brought most of the sirdars under his sway. Ranjit Singh subdued the Manjha Sikhs (the Sikhs of the Trans-Sutlej territories) without intervention from the British, who were then expanding their power, but his designs against the Malwa Sikhs (the Sikhs of the Cis-Sutlej area) brought him face to face with the strongest power in the subcontinent, the East India Company.

Diplomatic relations between Ranjit Singh and the British East India Company commenced in 1806 when a treaty of friendship was signed between the two powers. The Maharaja, however, was determined to include in his kingdom the whole Khalsa. The internal disputes of the Phulkian sirdars of the Cis-Sutlej induced him to cross the Sutlej three times.

THE SIKH KINGDOM IN 1839
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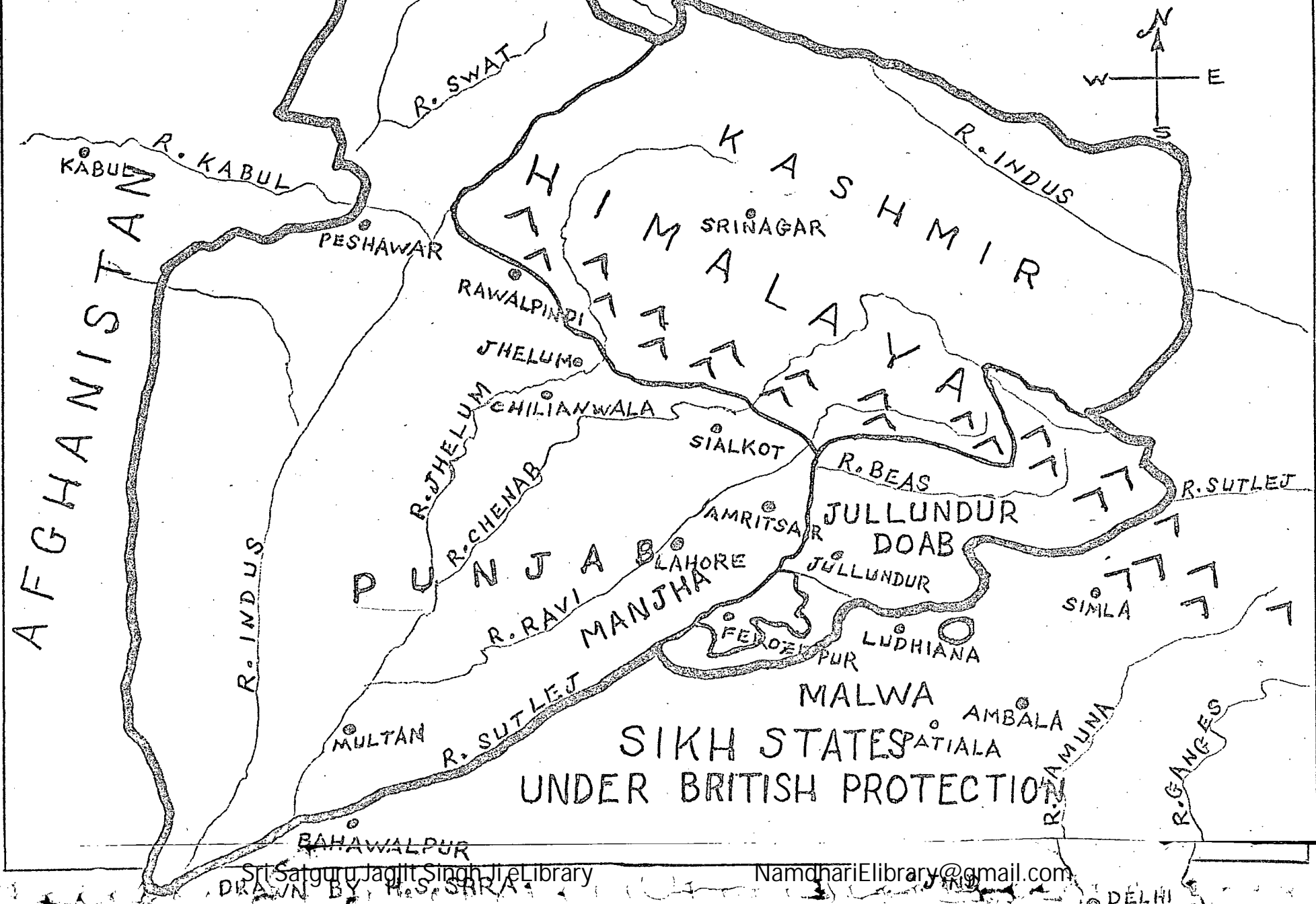
S
KABUL
R. KABUL
AFGHANISTAN
R. SWAT
PESHAWAR
RAWALPINDI
JHELUM
HIMALAYA
KASHMIR
SRINAGAR
R. INDUS
CHILIANWALA
R. JHELUM
SIALKOT
R. CHENAB
R. BEAS
R. SUTLEJ
AMRITSAR
JULLUNDUR DOAB
PUNJAB
LAHORE
JULLUNDUR
R. INDUS
R. RAVI
MANJHA
SIMLA
LUDHIANA
MALWA
AMBALA
PATIALA
R. JAMUNA
R. GANGES
MULTAN
R. SUTLEJ
SIKH STATES UNDER BRITISH PROTECTION
BAHAWALPUR
DELHI

Alarmed at Ranjit Singh's ambitions, the Rajas of Jind, Nabha, and Patiala personally approached the British Resident in Delhi for help. This set off another round of diplomatic negotiations between the Maharaja and the British. At first the British did not press for Ranjit Singh's retreat from the Cis-Sutlej territory because they needed him as their ally against Napoleon. But by December 1808, the danger of Napoleon's invasion of India had passed and the British firmly demanded that Ranjit Singh retire to the north of the Sutlej. The British demand was, of course, most unpalatable to Ranjit Singh and he threatened war. However, the sagacious Maharaja never carried out his threat because he apparently had qualms about his own power to coerce the British into accepting his sovereignty over the Cis-Sutlej States. The fate of the Marathas also served as a grave reminder against adopting an unfriendly policy toward the British. In April 1809, Ranjit Singh withdrew to the north of the Sutlej and a new treaty was signed on April 25. The Sikhs of the Cis-Sutlej were thus assured of British protection.

Before he died in 1839, "The Lion of the Punjab" had subdued the hill Rajputs, the Punjabi Muslims, the Kashmiris, and most tribesmen of the north-western frontier. Ranjit Singh gave administrative office to deserving men regardless of their religious faiths and it is no exaggeration to say that his civil administration rested on the shoulders of his Hindu and Muslim ministers such as Raja Deena Nath and Faqir

Aziz-ud-din. Ranjit Singh's system of government was simple and crude. Only the fiscal and military departments interested the Maharaja. The provincial governors acted as farmers of the revenue; the feudal chiefs enjoyed unlimited authority within their jurisdiction. The kardars, or local tax-gatherers, were generally dishonest; they were not paid officials and they lived by the perquisites of their office. The system of taxation was defective; duties were imposed on articles of both internal and external commerce and forty-eight articles of common use were taxed. There was no written law. Crime was scarce and only two kinds of punishments existed, fine and mutilation. Private property in land was fully recognized, but the cultivators paid to the state as much as one-half of the gross produce as land revenue.

Though Ranjit Singh's system of government was crude, yet commerce flourished and the Punjabis were contented with his regime. The reasons for the people's happiness, as the authors of the First Punjab Administration Report rightly explained in 1852, were psychological:

> . . . the nations will cheerfully pay enormous taxes when the government is popular, and when the public mind is kept excited by martial triumphs. The rule of Ranjit Singh was eminently suited to the genius of the people, and the spirit of the Sikhs mounted high when they saw province after province added to the domain of their mystic commonwealth.[3]

The probable fate of the Sikh kingdom after Ranjit Singh's death was predicted by Bentinck more than four years before the "Lion of the Punjab" breathed his last in June, 1839. In a Minute of March 13, 1835, Bentinck wrote that

"there is no apparent probability that the wisdom of his [Ranjit Singh's] rule will be inherited by his successors. Troubles, upon his decease, will certainly arise, and it is impossible to foresee the result as relates to the line of conduct which we may be called upon to pursue."[4] Bentinck's words were prophetic. Within two years of Ranjit Singh's death in 1839, disputes and intrigues arose as to the succession. Several claimants were assassinated. The Khalsa (the Sikh army) became insubordinate because many regiments could not obtain their arrears of pay. The worst happened when, through the encouragement of rival princes, the Sikh army became involved in political intrigues. The soldiers openly held out threats of destroying the court officials.[5] Intelligence about the mutinous behaviour of the Khalsa reached the British authorities almost daily.[6] Realising their incapacity to control their own army, the Sikh politicians schemed its destruction by inducing it to invade the British territory. The Sikh army crossed the Sutlej in December, 1845, but the Sikhs were defeated after four sharp battles. According to the Lahore Treaty of March 9, 1846, the Sikhs surrendered the Jullundur Doab to the British. The hill states and the state of Kashmir were sold for a million pounds sterling to Raja Gulab Singh of Jammu, who was invested with the title of Maharaja.

The First Sikh War had connected two British officers, the brothers Henry and John Lawrence, with the affairs of the Punjab. Both were personally selected by the Governor-

General, Hardinge, for duties in the Punjab; Henry was summoned from Nepal and appointed Political Agent to the Governor-General during the First Sikh War and John was made Commissioner of the Jullundur Doab after the defeat of the Sikhs in 1846. Henry's sympathetic attitude toward the defeated Sikhs made him popular with the Sikh Durbar, and John's administrative initiative and capabilities won him the affection of the peasants. As Commissioner, John promptly introduced a temporary land settlement and a low assessment of the land-tax. He also instituted the policy of abolishing the _jageers_, or feudal grants, and distributing the land among the tillers. Perhaps no other duty did John Lawrence perform more enthusiastically than the eradication of infanticide and _sati_. Meanwhile, Henry Lawrence was busy at Lahore. His watchfulness thwarted the Wazir's intrigues with the governor of Kashmir, and the Sikh _sirdars_ solicited the aid of the British for the protection of their minor king, Duleep Singh.[7] Accordingly, a new agreement was concluded on December 16, 1846. The British promised to stay in Lahore until Duleep Singh attained the full age of sixteen years and a Council of Regency was constituted which was to act under the control and guidance of the British Resident.

The new agreement thus obliged the British to assume a share in the management of the Sikh kingdom. The Resident, Henry Lawrence, sincerely hoped to train and guide the _sirdars_, in the art of modern government. He reduced the overgrown Sikh army and promptly paid up the discharged

soldiers. His staff also collected the arrears of taxes, instituted a summary settlement, simplified the system of taxation, and compiled a simple penal code of the unwritten customs of the Punjab. The Resident also procured the services of a British engineer who looked after the improvements in public works. For one year the Regency, under Henry Lawrence's guidance, pursued uninterruptedly the enlightened policy where "the people would have to pay less, while the state received more."[8] But early next year the jealous Queen Mother began her intrigues to wreck the Resident's good work and Henry was obliged to have her removed to Benaras. The Sikhs did not oppose this harsh measure, for they had developed a great faith in Henry's gift of sympathy. He had saved their kingdom from annexation and now he was doing everything in his power to preserve it.[9]

The strain of work affected Henry's health and in January 1848 he was obliged to go to England on leave. On his homeward journey Henry accompanied the outgoing Governor-General, Hardinge, who, before relinquishing office, had recommended Henry to Hobhouse, the President of the Board of Control, in these words: "I have no objects to urge as regards myself, and his claims are so strong and so just that even if I had I should wish his to take precedence."[10] Within a month of his arrival in England, Henry Lawrence was appointed a K. C. B..

In Henry's absence things went amiss in the Punjab. In May 1848, Mulraj of Multan rebelled. The Sikh <u>sirdars</u>

also broke into open rebellion and the acting-Resident, Frederick Currie, wrote to Henry about having "a most anxious and trying time."[11] Henry, who was "sensitive about his personal influence and reputation",[12] cut short his holiday to resume charge of the Punjab. Before leaving England he was much disturbed by the swing of public opinion favouring annexation. Dalhousie, the new Governor-General, was writing in strong language from India, and even Hardinge now appeared to support his successor's views.[13] Would he be forced by a dictatorial chief to give up his ideal? Henry reached Lahore still hoping to save the Sikh kingdom. But his previous criticism of Dalhousie's policy of delaying the expedition against Mulraj because of the hot weather was now to prove impolitic.[14]

Dalhousie, being new to India, had deferred military action aginst Mulraj on the advice of the Commander-in-Chief. When the revolt became general, Dalhousie lost no time in taking the field personally and moved his camp to Ferozepur on the Sutlej. The British won the Second Sikh War after the carnage of Chillianwala and Gujarat in January-February 1849. From the account given to him by an eyewitness, Bosworth Smith has vividly recalled how the Sikhs gave up their arms.

> . . . the Sikh soldiers, advancing, one by one to the file of the English drawn across the road, flung down tulwar, matchlock, and shield upon the growing heap of arms, salaamed to them as to the "spirit of the steel" and passed through the open lines, no longer soldiers . . . each horseman among them had to part for the last time from the animal which he regarded as part of himself . . .

> This was too much even for the Sikh endurance. He caressed and patted the faithful companion on every part of his body, and then turned resolutely away. But this resolution failed him. He turned back again and again to give one caress more, and then, as he tore himself away for the very last time, brushed a teardrop from his eye, and exclaimed, in words which give the key to so much of the history of the relations of the Sikhs to us, their manly resistance, and their not less manly submission to the inevitable, 'Runjeet Singh is dead today!'[15]

Small wonder, then, that a temperamentally romantic and chivalrous person like Henry Lawrence had lost his heart to a brave people.

Though Dalhousie praised the Sikhs for their courage and manliness, he had already decided in his mind the fate of their kingdom. He was convinced that to leave the masterless Khalsa intact would mean a constant threat to the British. Financial considerations also weighed heavily with Dalhousie. The First Sikh War in 1846 had increased the deficit in India's budget from £743,849 to £1,496,865.[16] The Second Sikh War had proved equally costly. On August 4, 1848, Dalhousie expressed his anxiety to a close friend:

> . . . and I, whose ears tingled with trumpeting which proclaimed expenditure and income equalised find myself with a deficit on the year of £1,400,000 and with orders in my hand from my masters for a bullion remittance of half a million . . . .[17]

Besides, it was Dalhousie's avowed policy "not to put aside or neglect such rightful opportunities of acquiring territory or revenue as may from time to time present themselves."[18] The opportunity to annex the Punjab had now come. Henry conscientiously opposed the annexation to the last minute.

"My own opinion," he wrote to Dalhousie, "as already more than once expressed in writing to your lordship is against annexation. I did think it unjust; I now think it impolitic."[19] Dalhousie, who considered Henry a wayward subordinate,[20] had no ears for such pleas and John Lawrence fully agreed with him. The bulk of the Anglo-Indian civil and military officers also favoured annexation.[21] But the British cabinet in London were indecisive. In face of this indecision Dalhousie acted on his own responsibility and on March 29, 1849, he annexed the 'Land of the Five Rivers.'[22] Later on, in the last Minute of his Governor-Generalship, he explained his reasons. "The question for us was no longer one of policy or expediency," he said, "but one of national safety."[23]

The annexation ended Henry's dream of training the Sikh nation in the arts of modern government. He had found before that Dalhousie was callous toward the natives and their sentiments, and now the annexation of the Punjab also proved that his unsympathetic chief could not appreciate the political advantages of retaining the friendship of a brave people. Henry belonged to the traditional school of favouring the native States, which was now going out of fashion. The new generation of Anglo-Indian officers "disliked" India and behaved arrogantly toward the Indians.[24] Henry saw in such imperialistic arrogance a political danger to the Anglo-Indian Empire. In the 1840s such a Munro-style attitude was laughed at. It was now the age of practical-minded rulers and the new Governor-General was its

representative. Henry felt he could not stay on under a cold, calculating regime. He therefore sent in his resignation as Resident. It was not Dalhousie's intention to get rid of Henry; in fact, he admired him for his eminent qualifications and now needed his moderating presence at a crucial time when the work of pacification of the newly-annexed province demanded priority. Was it not Henry's moral duty to see that the fallen Sikhs were treated kindly and justly? Dalhousie's argument prevailed upon Henry, who finally decided to stay on as the head of the new administration of the Punjab.

The new administration was an experiment planned by Dalhousie himself. The Punjab was to be ruled by a Board of Administration consisting of three members. Although Dalhousie appointed Henry as the President of the Board, he made sure that the executive authority was shared by all three members. Henry was expected to take care of political and military work; the other two members, John Lawrence and G. C. Mansell, were responsible for the civil and judicial work respectively. Henry's team of brilliant soldiers and political assistants notably Edwardes, Abbot, Nicholson, and Lumsden, was already present in the Punjab. The selection of the civil officers was left entirely to John, who borrowed from the North-Western Provinces such outstanding civil officers as Thornton, Montgomery, and Macleod. These men belonged to the school of administration associated with James Thomason, the distinguished Lieutenant-Governor of the North-Western Provinces from 1848 to 1853.

What was the Thomason school of administration like? The founders of this school were the two famous paternalists, Munro and Metcalfe, who favoured in India a system of direct and unitary government at the local or district level. They were opposed to the Cornwallis system of separating the executive and judicial arms of government. These paternalist views received the full support of Benthamites like Lord William Bentinck. When Bentinck arrived as Governor-General in 1828, he had found that the administration of the North-Western Provinces was suffering from lack of coordination between the revenue branch and the judicial. Bentinck carried out a number of administrative reforms, one of the most important of which was the amalgamation of executive and magisterial authorities in the person of the District Officer, who was immediately subordinate to the Commissioner of his Division. In addition, the North-Western Provinces got a separate High Court. These reforms, which were introduced under Regulation VII of 1831, meant a victory for Munro's school. But its victory, as Stokes points out, was made possible by the reforming officials who had accepted "the authoritarian element in the Utilitarian doctrines."[25] In 1837 the liberals again got the upper hand. Under the influence of men like Macaulay, the new Governor-General, Auckland, separated the offices of collector and magistrate. In the North-Western Provinces the new regulation was stubbornly opposed by local officials such as Metcalfe, Bird, and Thomason and as a result of their opposition it was not

applied to the North-Western Provinces. When Dalhousie came to India, he attributed the inefficiency of the Bengal administration mainly to this reversion from Bentinck's regulations. On the other hand, the Commissioner system and the institution of District Officer, which were efficiently functioning in the North-Western Provinces, met with Dalhousie's full approval. It was, therefore, the Commissioner system with its District Officers that was popularly called the Thomason school of administration and Dalhousie was anxious to extend it to the new province.

Dalhousie himself laid down the principles on which the administration of the Punjab was to be conducted. Like the North-Western Provinces, the Punjab was not to be governed by Regulations but by despotism direct and simple. The idea of an authoritarian administration was not new. Bentham and James Mill, the Utilitarian philosophers, had been its strong advocates. An authoritarian reformer Dalhousie was, therefore, a Utilitarian. But in Dalhousie's utilitarianism there were no fixed dogmas; it was simply a philosophy of practical-mindedness.[26] Many Anglo-Indian officials were utilitarians in this sense. Like Dalhousie they also believed that only authoritarianism could be conducive to progress in India. Thus it was from the ranks of such utilitarians that Dalhousie chose, with John Lawrence's help, officers for service in the Punjab. A team of eighty-four covenanted officers was withdrawn from the North-Western Provinces and placed at the disposal of the Punjab

Board of Aministration.[27] The Board was given full authority to control and supervise all departments. Below the Board, the executive consisted of four grades: Commissioners, Deputy Commissioners, Assistant Commissioners, and Extra Assistant Commissioners. Indians could join the fourth grade. The Punjab proper was divided into the five Commissionerships of Lahore, Jhelum, Multan, Lei, and Peshawar. The Commissioners were directly responsible to the Board and acted as superintendents of revenue and police. They also held the appellate powers of a Civil Judge and the criminal powers of a Sessions Judge. The District Officers--designated Deputy Commissioners in the Punjab--were vested with triple powers: criminal, civil, and fiscal.[28] The wide powers of Commissioners and District officers obviously made the Punjab administration even more authoritarian than that of the North-Western Provinces.

At first there was much skepticism about the success of the Board. Even the President of the Board seemed to lack faith in the new arrangement. Henry wrote to his friend Edwardes opining that he "would rather be without" the commissioners.[29] The most cynical critic of Dalhousie's experiment was Napier, the Commander-in-Chief. "Boards rarely have any talent," he once remarked while visiting Lahore.[30] There were many other Anglo-Indian officials who predicted that the Punjab Board of Administration would be a failure. But the day of disgrace for Dalhousie never came. The achievements of the Board effectively silenced its critics. During a short period of three years it achieved its major objectives

of pacifying the province and firmly establishing in it modern civil and judicial institutions.

Political matters received the Board's prompt attention. A large portion of the Sikh soldiery had already been disarmed after their defeat. A few Sikh regiments that had not taken part in the war were now summoned to Lahore. A general muster was called. The soldiers were then paid up and disbanded. Many were immediately taken back into the British service. As soon as the Khalsa was disbanded, a police force of nearly fourteen thousand men was raised to keep law and order in the province. In the frontier districts the heads of tribes and villages were invested with police powers. A general disarmament of the populace was also carried out calmly and systematically. As many as 119,796 arms of all kinds were surrendered or seized between the Sutlej and the Indus.[31] The possession, sale, and manufacture of arms and ammunition was forbidden for the future. The difficult task of pacification of the province was accomplished in a few months through Henry's political wisdom.

Arrangements for the protection of the turbulent Indus frontier were also promptly undertaken. The Board was empowered to raise ten regiments (five of cavalry and five of infantry) for the defence of the frontier. Henry liberally recruited the native Pathans and the Punjabi Muslims for the new frontier force. The Sikhs were not much trusted at first but gradually their proportion was increased.[32] The Punjab

Irregular Frontier Force (P. I. F. F.) was made directly subject to the Board. It guarded the entire Western frontier with the exception of the strategic Peshawar Valley, which was defended by regular troops. The frontier forts and advance posts were repaired and properly garrisoned and military roads connecting them were constructed. The President of the Board, accompanied by his Civil Engineer, toured and inspected the new military works. The P. I. F. F. was also supported by three field-artillery brigades, two companies of sappers and miners, the Sindh Camel Corps, and the Guide Corps. The Guide Corps was Henry's own remarkable idea; its men could act both as soldiers as well as spies and their pay was better than the ordinary scale. The P. I. F. F. and other units on the frontier were put under the command of such outstanding soldiers as Hodgson, the Lumsdens, Abbot, Taylor, Nicholson, Pollock, Becher, Keyes, Hodson, George Lawrence, and Edwardes. The presence of this force soon became a source of frustration to the marauding tribes of Afghanistan. But the real matter of pride for the Board was that after the arrival of the frontier force there was no popular rising within the Trans-Indus territories.[33]

The prevention and detection of crime in the new province also received the full attention of the Board. The police force of fourteen thousand men successfully liquidated gangs of murderers and robbers. Violent crimes were repressed. In the Lahore commissionership the number of capital punishments dropped from sixty-one in the first year to

twenty-two in the second. Thuggee, practised by the lowest class of Sikhs known as the Mazhbis, was discovered and suppressed. The suppression of infanticide proved more difficult, because the motive for the crime was not dowry, as in Central India, but "a remorseless pride of birth." Social offences such as child-stealing and slavery (which was domestic, not predial in the Punjab) were also eradicated. Professional trackers were employed to detect and suppress cattle-stealing and offences against property. In the apprehension and punishment of criminals, the Board showed foresight in winning the cooperation of the people. The inconveniences of the witnesses to a crime were reduced to the minimum by making the executive authorities in the districts readily accessible to the people. In the Sessions trials, the Commissioners were empowered to dispense with the appearance of witnesses who had given evidence before a magistrate. The humane treatment of convicts also did not escape the Board's attention. To discontinue the native practice of confining the convicts in old forts, the Board undertook the construction of twenty-six modern jails which would accommodate, on completion, nearly ten thousand criminals.

For the benefit of the people civil justice was made as efficient as criminal justice. The judges were urged to work hard. The native _tahsildars_ or revenue officers, who already possessed magisterial powers, were vested with judicial powers to try suits up to the value of three hundred rupees. The European Settlement Officers, who were busy

touring and visiting the villages, were also empowered to decide all cases relating to landed property. During the first two official years alone, 23,378 suits were decided in the Punjab Proper.[34]

From what sources did the revenue come to implement these reforms? The bulk of the revenue depended, as it did under the Sikh rule, on the land-tax. The Sikhs had taxed the farmers heavily: the government share used to be half, or even more, of the gross produce; the collection used to be in kind and the assessment was made two or three times in a year. The Board alleviated these hardships of the cultivators. The land settlement was undertaken on the basis of thirty-year leases and the money assessments were fixed for the same duration. The revenue was assessed, in theory, on the principle of the Ricardian Law of Rent but because of practical difficulties the net produce criterion was abandoned and the empirical method of using specimen rent rates was favoured and employed to determine the rental value of an acre. The standard of assessment was, therefore, fixed at one-half of the rental assets (which was more or less equivalent of one-half of the net produce). The financial wizard of the Board, John Lawrence, reduced the land-tax by twenty-five percent without letting the public purse suffer, because the resumed and confiscated estates of the Sikh chiefs made up for the general reduction. In 1849 the Sikh Durbar had collected ninety-eight lakhs of rupees (£98,000) as land revenue. John Lawrence raised it to one and a half

crores (£1,500,000), in spite of a general reduction in assessment.[35]

The system of excise duties was also improved. The old system had exploited the traders for the benefit of the Khalsa. As many as forty-eight articles were liable to custom, excise, town or transit duties. John Lawrence simplified the system; the internal trade was set free and the tax was kept only on salt, drugs and spirits, stamps and ferry tolls. The state still received sixteen lakhs (£160,000), the amount that the Sikhs used to collect under a defective system.[36]

The land reform and the fiscal changes greatly improved the Punjab's financial condition. After the first two financial years (1849-50 and 1850-51) the Board produced a surplus of one hundred and sixteen lakhs (£1,160,000).[37] For the third year (1851-52) the total revenue was even more, and in spite of liberal allocations for public works there was a surplus of twenty-two lakhs (£220,000). In addition to these surpluses from the Punjab Proper, the territories of Cis-Sutlej and Trans-Sutlej were estimated to yield annually a surplus of thirty-nine lakhs (£390,000).[38] To remit from a new province a large surplus of almost sixty lakhs of rupees (£600,000) every year to the Government of India was indeed a financial miracle--a miracle which, because of the characteristics of a financier in him, perhaps only John Lawrence could have performed.

The department of public works also made notable achievements. After three years the Board reported that through the efforts of Colonel R. Napier, the Civil Engineer, and his colleagues "1349 miles of road have been cleared and constructed; 2487 miles have been traced and 5272 miles surveyed, all exclusive of minor cross and branch roads."[39] The old canals in the Multan district were reopened, but the Husli Canal in the north was closed and in its place work on a new canal, the Bari Doab, was begun. The new canal, 219 miles long, was expected to run through the Manjha, a territory which, being the centre of the Sikh power, was considered socially and politically very important by the British. In addition to the program of road and canal construction, land was reclaimed, new trees were planted, the breed of cattle was improved, and more remunerative crops like cotton, tobacco, and sugarcane were introduced. In addition to the Arabic, Sanskrit, and Gurmukhi schools,[40] which were already functioning regularly, the Board proposed to set up a central school in each city and by 1857-58 each city in the Punjab had its own central school. At the end of the first three years of Board's administration the Amritsar central school, where English was also taught, had one hundred fifty-three students on its roll who were receiving modern education.[41] The work of municipal conservancy was undertaken. The Agri-Horticulture society was founded; postal communications began; and the construction of dispensaries in the province

was also underway by the end of 1852. During the first three years of its administration, the Board spent over nineteen lakhs (Ŀ190,000) on public works.[42] During the first three years of annexation the Punjab administration indeed spent money liberally on public works and by the financial year 1853-54 the Punjab was spending more on public works than most other provinces of British India. The Punjab's expenditure for public works that year was Ŀ516,284 sterling, compared with Ŀ242,971 for the North-Western Provinces, Ŀ73,614 for Bengal, Ŀ94,486 for Bombay, and Ŀ192,211 for Madras.[43] If the Board, therefore, felt satisfied to write that "in few parts of India has more been done within a short time for the physical improvement of the country than in the Punjab,"[44] then it was a legitimate self-appraisal of its achievements.

The exertions of the Board conferred on the Punjabis the benefits of internal peace, the land settlement, and a better fiscal system. Internal and external trade became brisk. The signs of prosperity were visible everywhere. Three good harvests after 1849 left a huge surplus of grain each year. Overabundance even caused some concern. The price of grain fell rapidly. Wheat was selling in 1849 at forty pounds a rupee; after three years, a rupee bought eighty-six pounds of wheat.[45] The low prices of food grains began to affect the income of the agriculturist classes. The Board recommended the cultivation of more remunerative crops like cotton and sugarcane but the farmers clamoured for immediate

relief. The Board generously provided the kind of relief the peasants were asking for: revenue assessments were reduced each year.

During his tour of the Punjab in 1851, Dalhousie had personally witnessed signs of progress and prosperity, but the full results of the first three years of the Board's administration made him really happy and proud. The Governor-General, along with two members of his Council, praised the Punjab Board's work in glowing terms:

> For the purposes and happy results which is exhibited in the report, we are of the opinion that the Government of India is mainly indebted to the members of the Board of Administration, Sir Henry Lawrence, Mr. John Lawrence, Mr. Mansel, and his successor, Mr. Montgomery.[46]

The Directors of the East India Company, in their reply, described the Punjab Board as "a wise and eminently successful administration" whose executive functionaries had "entitled themselves to be placed in the foremost rank of Indian administrators."[47] And from that day a new and vigorous school of administration emerged in the Punjab where a benevolent despotism also showed the foresight of planting "the first germs of municipal government."[48] Just as Plato and Aristotle outstripped their teachers in imagination, so did the pupils of Metcalfe and Thomason!

Although the Punjab Board of Administration produced brilliant results, yet it was not free from internal friction. The Lawrence brothers agreed with each other on matters concerning the welfare of their province, but on

three important points they proved irreconcilable.[49] The fundamental difference between them arose in respect to the treatment of the Sikh jageerdars. Henry was a man of strong conservative sentiments and favoured giving concessions to the feudal classes. He also believed that it was politic to treat the vanquished generously. John, who was less emotional than his elder brother, thought more of the public coffers and the common man; in his opinion the native aristocracy was parasitical and he did not trust in their fidelity. The second point of difference concerned the payment of the land-tax. John had substituted the system of cash payment for the old system of payment in kind. But as the price of grain fell because of good harvests, the farmers were faced with the difficulty of selling their surplus grain. Henry favoured allowing, in deserving cases, resumption of payment in kind. John would not allow his principle to be flouted. The third point at issue was the extent to which money should be spent on public works. Henry favoured generous spending on public works. John considered it unwise to overtax the financial means of the province and thus felt compelled to check his brother's enthusiasm.

Such were the differences in the views of the Lawrences of the Punjab. The quarrel between them was not a quarrel for power; theirs was a quarrel of ideas. It was a clash between the views of a soldier-statesman and of a civil officer; of a paternalist and a utilitarian; of an idealist and of

a practical man. Each was a conscientious servant of the East India Company and each believed that his policy would best serve the interests of the people and the state. The opinions of both brothers had merit. But as time passed, the gulf between them became wider and deeper. Finally the two resorted to using the third member, Montgomery, as their medium of intercommunication.

The Governor-General was believed to lean toward John's views.[50] As a utilitarian-imperialist, Dalhousie had never shared Henry's enthusiasm for the decaying native aristocracy. However, he had kept himself from interfering in the disputes of the brothers. But when their quarrel began to tell on the administration of the new province, Dalhousie decided that the time for Henry's special experience and ability was gone. In a long letter, the Governor-General informed Henry that the time was now ripe to give the executive charge of the administration of the Punjab "to a thoroughly trained and experienced civil officer."[51] Soon after this message from Dalhousie, Henry and John tendered their resignations. Dalhousie accepted Henry's and transferred him to Rajputana. John Lawrence was appointed Chief Commissioner of the Punjab. The soldier had lost the race to the civilian.

Ever since the days of the Residency, Henry Lawrence had been the spirit of the new Punjab. Therefore, Dalhousie's prompt acceptance of Henry's resignation came as an electric shock not only to Henry but to his subordinates and to the

Punjabis. Many young, brilliant soldiers serving on the western frontier offered to leave the Punjab with their beloved chief. Henry Lawrence, however, gave no encouragement to any subordinate to desert his brother or the Punjab administration. There was no trace of bitterness or vindictiveness in his mind against John, nor in John's against him. Temple, who had joined the Punjab service as a settlement officer in 1851, emphasizes that the differences of the Lawrence brothers over official matters never affected their fraternal regard.[52]

Even though Henry and John Lawrence had not been on speaking terms for some time, Henry, before leaving Lahore, made a last emotional plea to his brother, urging him to treat the jageerdars kindly "because they are down."[53] In his reply John betrayed his usual calm reason:

> My dear Henry, - I have received your kind note, and can only say in reply that I sincerely wish that you had been left in the Punjab to carry out your own views, and that I had got another berth. I must further say that where I have opposed your views I have done it from a thorough conviction, and not from factious or interested motives. I will give every man his due. More than this no one should expect . . . . It is more than probable that you and I will never again meet; but I trust that all unkindly feeling between us may be forgotten.[54]

The next day Henry Lawrence left Lahore. For his friends and well-wishers the departure of the bearded chief was a sad moment. To express their grief and gratitude many well-wishers, both European and native, accompanied Henry Lawrence for miles from Lahore.[55] Few chiefs after Ranjit Singh had received so much popular affection as Sir Henry.

When Henry Lawrence departed from the Punjab, the work of pacification of the country was complete and improvements in the new institutions, established during the first three years after the annexation, were gradually being made. Now that he was free to act on his own responsibility, and was also assured of a kind Governor-General's approval of any measures that he might take in the interest of the state, John Lawrence at once set to work "to show what a man bred and educated as a civilian can do in a new country."[56] As Chief Commissioner, he enjoyed less executive independence than a Lieutenant-Governor and this fact made John's work more strenuous, for Dalhousie was a watchful head. He was lucky to have been given two able assistants in Montgomery, his Judicial Commissioner, and Edmonstone, his Financial Commissioner. In early 1854, John Lawrence added another capable hand to his personal staff, Richard Temple, who at the time was holding the charge of Gujarat district. John Lawrence made Temple his secretary at Lahore. With the aid of this team of able administrators he "made progressive movements in every direction, but no organic change anywhere."[57] He extended the public works, had the land settlements completed and revenue assessed, encouraged industry, improved the machinery for civil and criminal justice, and strengthened the defences of the western frontier. Between 1853 and 1858 John Lawrence made the Punjab administration a model of efficiency and industry.

The progress that the Punjab made under John Lawrence would certainly have met with Henry Lawrence's approval too, but there was one important difference between the two administrations. As the President of the Board of Administration, Henry Lawrence had rarely demanded lengthy reports about the local matters. He often allowed the district authorities full freedom of initiative as long as they could keep the populace satisfied. As an administrator too, Henry was more in the paternalist school of Munro--the school that staunchly believed in dispensing justice on the spot. On the contrary, the new administration under John Lawrence was more bureaucratic and more scientific. The Chief Commissioner allowed less freedom of initiative, instructed his subordinates to receive, except in emergencies, prior approval of a supervisory authority in all important matters, urged a speedy disposal of work, and demanded regular progress reports of local proceedings and and accounts of expenditure. In short, through vigilance and scrutiny John Lawrence kept himself, and the Governor-General, informed about the condition of his province. It was proverbial in those days that nothing could go wrong in the Punjab as long as it was ruled by John Lawrence.

Many younger officers of the school of Henry Lawrence openly showed their contempt for the new "red tape." In the first place, Henry's men were not trained civil officers like the team of civilians that was borrowed by John Lawrence from his teacher. The followers of Henry Lawrence were

professional soldiers who were successfully acting as civil officers in the frontier districts. They were self-reliant and energetic men, but some of them, especially Nicholson, had no taste for writing official reports. Therefore, the new system vexed them. Moreover, their boundless devotion to Henry Lawrence had already made them unfriendly to John Lawrence, whom they likened to "King John" or sarcastically called "Coachman John." But nothing kept John Lawrence from insisting on the execution of his own policies. His attitude toward his recalcitrant subordinates was firm but patient. He was neither weak nor small-minded. No loyal friend of his brother's suffered any harm at his hands. Some of them wanted to leave the Punjab but he persuaded them to stay with him because they were competent men. It was John Lawrence's own devotion to his public duty, more than anything else, that kept the administrative machinery of the Punjab from disintegrating, and it was his firmness and patience that at last stopped the waywardness of his subordinates. The critics of John Lawrence have accused him of leaving in the Punjab the legacy of bureaucracy and excessive centralization. It may be so, but we should also not forget that some one above cracked the whip first.

The centralization of the Punjab administration in no way affected the progress of development. John Lawrence had the same enthusiasm for public improvements which his brother had had, but now the money was utilised more

scientifically. During the four years of peaceful rule after 1853 the confidence of the people in the new institutions was enhanced. The law courts now functioned regularly. In 1856 alone the judges disposed of 51,751 civil suits.[58] The disposal of criminal cases was just as prompt and efficient: "The average duration of cases with the aid of police was 11 days and before the magistrate alone six days."[59] The construction of jails was completed by 1856 and they accommodated over ten thousand prisoners--the number calculated previously.

Because of the overabundance of grain, the policy of reducing the land-tax was consistently followed during these four years. Between 1852 and 1856, almost twenty-four lakhs of rupees (£240,000) had been abated at different times.[60] No customs duties were levied in the Punjab. An excise duty on liquors and drugs existed, but the use of these articles was happily not increasing among the masses. The consumption of salt had doubled since annexation.

By the end of 1856 a department of education was operating successfully. A government school existed at the headquarters of each tahsil or subdivision of a district, and there were one hundred and seven such government schools in operation. The landowners were paying one percent on the assessed land-tax to finance four hundred and fifty-six village schools. These village schools were popular and the landholders raised no objections to the small additional payment of land-tax to support them. The popularity of the village schools was further shown because their attendance

was not affected during the crisis of 1857; rather, between October and December of that year seven hundred more village schools were opened. There were also fifteen special institutions and 5,024 indigenous schools. Thus all told there were 5,602 schools of various types functioning in 1857. By the end of 1858, nearly fifty thousand boys, in a population of almost thirteen million, were receiving instruction in the Punjab.[61]

The authors of the Fourth Punjab Administration Report assumed great credit for their efforts to promote modern education in the Punjab. A careful investigation of facts, however, shows that the Punjab administration did not make satisfactory efforts in the cause of public education and that it allocated inadequate funds for schools. Of the 5,602 schools that were operating in the Punjab in 1857, only 578 either belonged to, or were aided by, the government.[62] The remaining 5,024 schools were private institutions which received no money from the government. Over thirty thousand students, three-fifths of the total attendance, were under instruction in these unaided, indigenous schools.[63] In view of this fact, the self-praise assumed by the Punjab's rulers was somewhat unjustified. On comparing the Punjab administration's efforts to promote modern education with the efforts made in other provinces, we again discover tardiness on its part. In 1856-57 the Punjab's rulers expended only £10,530 on educational instruction compared with £31,223 expended by Madras, £35,273 by Bombay, and £94,322 expended

during that year by Bengal.[64] Next year the Punjab administration again spent far less on education than other provinces. In fact, the Punjab's education expenditure remained comparatively small for decades. Consequently, higher and college education were neglected. The relatively small amounts of money devoted to education during the first eight years of annexation were meant for primary and middle schools. No funds were allotted to start higher education during this period. High schools and colleges were opened in the Punjab only after 1860.[65] In the absence of a progressive educational policy by its first British rulers, the Punjab kept trailing behind the other provinces in the area of higher and college education. To deny during the first eight years of annexation a fair and equitable share of the public money even to the primary and intermediate levels of education was indeed deplorable.

The program of public works, however, suffered no setback under John Lawrence's rule. The extension of roads, canals, postal services and electric telegraph made progress. Approximately one hundred and eighteen lakhs of rupees, (£1,180,000) were spent on road construction in the eight years following annexation. In 1857 the Grand Trunk Road was almost complete between Delhi and Ludhiana on the Sutlej. Other roads and bridges were under construction. The Sindh Railway Company was authorized to construct a railway line from Amritsar to Multan. An electric telegraph line connected the cities of Delhi, Lahore, Rawalpindi, and Peshawar.

Between 1853 and 1857 work on the Bari Doab Canal was relentlessly pursued. To overcome numerous rapids and falls between Amritsar and the Canal's head at Madhopur, bridges, escapes and masonry works were about ready before the outbreak of the mutiny. By 1857 nearly seventy lakhs (£700,000) had been spent on the Canal.[66] Although the Bari Doab, because of its political and economic importance, was his pet project, John Lawrence generally favoured such works of public utility as would benefit the peasants. His policy of emphasizing public works to help the farmers, though in line with his utilitarian views, was primarily on the political consideration of "attaching" them to British rule. During John Lawrence's term of office as Chief Commissioner (1853 to 1858), the Punjab spent £1,940,528 on public works. With the exception of the North-Western Provinces, which spent during those six years over two and a half million pounds on public works, no other province assigned such liberal funds for public works as the Punjab. Madras, for example, spent only £1,557,913 on public works during that period, while Bengal and Bombay spent even less.[67] Altogether the Punjab administration had expended on public works since annexation (between 1849 and 1857) over three crores of rupees (£3,245,360).[68]

The river traffic and trade were steadily growing in volume. In 1856 more than thirty thousand tons of freight were transported by about three thousand registered boats.[69]

Steamers were making occasional trips on the five rivers. Minor industries were flourishing. The culture of flax, linseed, cotton, sugarcane, and indigo was encouraged. A timber agency at Sialkot was in operation and the plan to start Arboriculture was under study. The cultivation of tea in the Kangra Hills had also made some progress.[70]

The progress of the Punjab, on the whole, did not slacken under John Lawrence's rule. For four years John Lawrence exerted all his strength to lead his province to the front. His labours bore fuit. During each year of his administration the Punjab paid its own expenses and yielded a handsome surplus of nearly forty lakhs (£400,000) annually. Dalhousie owed much to John Lawrence for making his Punjab experiment a glorious success. In his last Minute of March, 1856, Dalhousie expressed in unmistakable language his appreciation of the brilliant work done by Lawrence in the Punjab.[71] On Dalhousie's recommendation, John Lawrence was also awarded a K. C. B.

The year 1856 passed in peace and progress. The Punjabis appeared contented. Materially, indeed, they were, but were they politically and socially reconciled to the *Feringhee's* rule? It was a difficult question to answer yet. The disbanded Sikh soldiers had taken to agriculture and appeared peaceable. However, it was dangerous to assume that in just eight years after annexation, the Sikhs had become loyal subjects of the British. Therefore, many Sikh *sirdars*,

especially the Attari sirdars, were still under surveillance. In fact, John Lawrence never betrayed signs of complacency in regard to the social and political reconciliation of the Sikhs to the British rule. Even Henry Lawrence, despite his sympathies for the Sikhs, had used caution in recruiting them for the P. I. F. F. and the Punjab Police. The conduct of the Sikh soldiers and policemen had been exemplary so far, but the possibility of opportunism on their part was not altogether ruled out. The Sikh jageerdars were, of course, a source of worry to the Lawrence administration. Although their political influence and material wealth had been curtailed, they were still regarded by the Sikh Jat peasantry as their leaders. Moreover, the loyalty and devotion of the Sikhs to the house of Ranjit Singh was strong. Their deposed young king, Duleep Singh, was still living in India and the fugitive Queen Mother, Jindan Kaur, was actively engaged in Nepal in intrigues against the British. In view of these facts, John Lawrence was wise not to give up his policy of circumspection toward the Sikhs. He followed a similar policy of caution toward the Punjabi Muslims also. The Muslims were more numerous than the Sikhs and were fanatical. They were the traditional enemies of the Sikhs, but the two communities might combine against the Feringhees, as they had done during the Second Sikh War. At times the Punjabi Muslims openly evinced signs of social and political discontent. The mosque was often used to preach treason and political murder in view of the rumours that the appearance of a prophet was imminent.[72]

The Punjabi Muslims had been widely employed in the P. I. F. F. and the police force, but their fidelity had not yet been put to any real test. On the whole, the Punjabis seemed peaceful in 1856, but occasional political under-currents made it necessary for the Punjab administration to exercise vigilance over them.

Early next year the threat of a combined Russian and Persian invasion into India caused some tension and alarm in the Punjab. But a timely and fruitful meeting between the Chief Commissioner and the Amir of Afghanistan resulted in a new Anglo-Afghan treaty and the prospects of peace were improved.

The growing discontent in the Bengal Army also engaged the Chief Commissioner's time. There were nearly thirty-six thousand sepoys stationed in his province, but John Lawrence, like most Englishmen, did not expect the worst. In his opinion the sepoys were a docile class, and he suggested to Lord Canning that the feelings of the sepoys would subside if they were "given plenty of work to do."[73] John Lawrence was wrong this time. The greased Enfield cartridge had done its mischief.

How well did the Punjab School do? A careful assessment of its achievements shows that for certain of these achievements during the first eight years of annexation the Punjab administration deserves high praise, whereas in certain other areas it does not merit such high praise. One of its outstanding achievements was, of course, in the area

of internal security and external defense. A prompt and peaceful disarmament of the turbulent Punjabis at the time of annexation, the creation of the Punjab Irregular Frontier Force and the Punjab police, and the stationing of European troops in strategic and historic forts of the Punjab were clear proof of the energies and farsightedness of the Punjab's new British rulers. They were also admirably successful in cutting down the incidence of heinous crime and in eradicating such social barbarism as sati and infanticide. Their efforts to protect the interests of the peasants were also praiseworthy. They reduced the land-tax and displayed great skill and efficiency in winding up the land settlement work within eight years. Whereas the Punjab School did not really deserve any credit for the prosperity of the province, for the prosperity was the result of good harvests and natural causes, it certainly merited praise for its ingenuity in manipulating improvements over the crude civil and revenue systems of the Sikh government. It reduced, for example, the land-tax without bringing any loss of income to the treasury. Not only did the financial genius of the School, John Lawrence, compensate the reduction but increased the total revenue by confiscating jageers. The abolition of excise duties also did not affect the treasury, for the new taxes on salt, drugs, stamps, and ferries, easily made up the loss. Each year the new province produced a substantial surplus. By 1857, through the assiduous efforts of the Punjab

administration, the civil, revenue, and criminal departments were smoothly functioning on modern lines in all districts of the province. The Punjab School also showed ingenuity in devising laws and procedures based on local customs and in appointing Indians as fourth grade officials. Undoubtedly the new machine in the Punjab was far more successful, as well as favourable to the interests of the peasant and the trader, than the preceding Sikh government.

The secret of its success depended, in the main, on its solid and well-oiled parts. The Punjab School was made up of active and efficient European district officers and soldiers. An army officer could competently act as a district officer and a civilian could successfully command a battalion. Such was the calibre of the men of the Punjab administration. The morale and efficiency of these men were further enhanced by the Non-Regulation system. One man was magistrate, collector of revenue, and civil judge. They were also encouraged, especially during emergency periods, to show boldness and initiative and were assured of the backing of their seniors.[74] Promotion in the service was regulated by merit rather than by seniority.[75] Although its authoritarianism eventually earned for it the ill will of the Legislative Council in Calcutta, in no other way could the Punjab School have stabilized British authority in the tumultuous frontier province.[76] An energetic, authoritarian district officer certainly inspired awe and admiration in the hearts of the

Punjabis and was the most effective representative of British power. The Punjab system of executive authority was unequivocally in harmony with the temper of the Punjabis and its planners and functionaries deserved full credit for their ingenuity and initiative. The stirring tribute paid by British historians of the time to the men of the Punjab service for maintaining law and order, for setting up and developing modern administrative institutions during the eight pre-mutiny years, and for producing a large surplus each year was fully justified, at least from the viewpoint of the British.

A careful analysis of the Punjab's expenditures, however, shows that the province's administration totally neglected to promote higher education, and, in comparison with other provinces it spent per capita very little on education. On health and sanitation, too, very little was spent. Even the irrigation works did not receive a reasonable share of the public revenue. No doubt the Punjab administration spent during the pre-mutiny years more money on public works than had most other provinces, but the projects on which it spent most of this money were related to security and military needs rather than to the welfare of the people. Of the grand total of over four crore rupees (₨4,005,706) that it spent on public works between 1849 and 1858, the Punjab government spent over one crore (₨1,237,762) on roads, another crore (₨1,014,141) on canals, about twenty-nine lakhs (₨290,080) on miscellaneous projects, and over one crore,

forty-six lakhs (£1,463,723) on military projects.[77] Expenditure on military projects was obviously very high. Emphasis on roads was also military; in fact most roads were designated as military roads and the only notable roadway made ready during this period was along that section of the old Grand Trunk Road which lies between Delhi and Ludhiana. Canal expenditure was third in importance. Of the total canal expenditure, the Bari Doab Canal alone accounted for almost seventy-five percent.[78] The rest of this money was spent on the improvement of old canals. No section of the Bari Doab was opened for irrigation as yet, and no other canal project was started during this period.[79] A relatively small amount (£290,080) spent on miscellaneous projects mainly financed the construction of civil offices, law courts, jails, police stations, a few schools and dispensaries, three sanatoria for the Europeans, and Christian churches.

Adequate money could easily have been given to education, more irrigation projects, and health and sanitation, because there was no shortage of funds. After defraying all expenditure for its civil and defense needs, the Punjab yielded on the average a yearly surplus of four to five hundred thousand pounds, but each year the surplus was entrusted to the Government of India "for imperial purposes." The patterns of deficits and surpluses observed through comparing the budgets of various provinces suggests that the Punjab administration was more anxious to alleviate the chronic

annual deficits of the Indian Government than were the administrations of most other provinces. It is not without significance in this connection that during those nine years (1849 to 1858) in question, the Punjab and the North-Western Provinces, the two Non-Regulation provinces, regularly sent large surpluses to Calcutta, whereas year after year the provinces of Bengal, Bombay, and Madras were having deficit budgets.[80] Also, the apologetic statement made in the <u>Fourth Punjab Administration Report</u>, explaining why the surplus was not higher than £387,772 in 1856-57 and £286,395 in 1857-58, clearly attested to the eagerness of the Punjab administration to remit surpluses to Calcutta rather than to utilise them for the benefit of the people.[81] To continue denying the Punjab a good share of its surplus was indeed unfair because, within three years of annexation, it had handsomely recompensed the Government of India for its financial losses incurred during the Sikh Wars.

Nevertheless, in all fairness the Punjab School must be given the credit for being far more interested in the betterment and advancement of the common people than the previous Sikh government. The Punjab School of Administration certainly gave back to the Punjabis a more equitable and generous portion of the taxes that it took from them than perhaps any other previous government of the Punjab. The unparalleled benefit which it gave to the Punjabis was, of course, the rule of law under which all Punjabis, irrespective

of their caste, creed, or wealth, were treated as equals. And to enforce the rule of law it also gave to the new province a vigorous and efficient governing machine, which successfully stood the test when the time for reckoning its sinews came with the outbreak of the sepoy mutiny.

When the ominous telegram about the eruption of mutiny in Delhi was redirected from Lahore on May 12, 1857, to Rawalpindi, where the Chief Commissioner resided, the functionaries of the Punjab School were uncertain about the attitude of the Sikhs toward the British rule. In fact, the Sikh nobility, who still possessed some wealth and influence, had always filled the British with some concern.[82] The Chief Commissioner and his European officers were, therefore, rather distrustful of the disbanded Khalsa and the remnants of the old Sikh nobility. In general too, the British distrusted all natives, the Sikhs being no exception.[83] But it was principally his fears about the political intentions of the Sikhs that prevented John Lawrence from immediately calling them up against the Hindustani mutineers. Within a week of the outbreak of the mutiny Lawrence was, however, convinced of the fidelity of the Sikhs and on May 17 he ordered his district officers to begin recruiting the Sikhs in order to enlarge the Punjab Frontier Force.[84] The Sikhs immediately responded to the Chief Commissioner's call for help and Sikh recruits began to pour into Lahore and Amritsar.

Meanwhile the Sikh princes of the Cis-Sutlej states had also assured the Chief Commissioner of their loyalty to their suzerain, the British East India Company, and were already helping the British in maintaining peace in the Cis-Sutlej territory. Thus, having assured himself of the support of the Sikhs on both sides of the Sutlej, John Lawrence could now hope to send within the foreseeable future sufficient reinforcements to the small punitive British force, which, in compliance with the Chief Commissioner's orders, was assembled at Ambala.

CHAPTER 3

THE STORM: THE SIKHS IN ACTION AGAINST THE MUTINEERS

When on May 11, 1857, news of the capture of Delhi by the mutineers reached the Punjab, there was not a single European regiment stationed in the territory between Ambala and Delhi which the Punjab authorities could despatch promptly on a punitive expedition to Delhi. At Ambala itself only one regiment (the 9th Lancers) and two troops of Horse Artillery were cantoned, whereas three regiments of European infantry (the 75th Foot, the 1st and 2nd Bengal Fusiliers) were camped for the summer season in the hills around Simla.[1] The nearest station in the Punjab, therefore, from which a European force, however small, could be sent to Delhi was Ambala. Moreover, Ambala, a little over a hundred miles distant from Delhi, was the largest military station in the Cis-Sutlej Punjab and as such it was the only logical point to become the base for operations against Delhi. But circumstances ruled out the possibility of a speedy action from Ambala because at the time senior officials, civil and military, of the Ambala Division were away from their headquarters, spending the summer in the Simla Hills. Luckily the District Officer of Ambala, T. D. Forsyth, was in the city when the ominous telegram came from Delhi. It was this

energetic and farsighted officer who, in the absence of his Commissioner, took certain initial steps which enabled the British to maintain their grip over the Punjab; more important, it was Forsyth who took the initiative in enlisting the aid of the Sikh princes of the Cis-Sutlej states.

On receiving the message from Delhi, Forsyth lost no time in exploiting the advantages which the telegraph afforded in sending intelligence with speed. On the very day (May 11) the telegram from Delhi arrived, he had the intelligence messages telegraphed to the Punjab authorities at Lahore, to General Anson, the Commander-in-Chief of the Bengal Army, who was at Simla, to G. C. Barnes, the Commissioner of the Ambala Division, and to all military stations in the Ambala Division. Furthermore, Forsyth kept the news of the mutiny a tightly guarded secret because the sepoys stationed at Ambala were also disaffected. His immediate concern was to offset the preponderance of the sepoys. Since the European regiments could not return from the hills as expeditiously as he wished, he turned for help to the Sikh princes of Patiala, Nabha, and Jind.

The feudatory state of Patiala being contiguous to the district of Ambala, Forsyth urged the Maharaja of Patiala to encamp forthwith near Ambala with one thousand men.[2] The Maharaja responded to Forsyth's call with alacrity. On the afternoon of May 13, he camped with the requisite force in a village only a few miles from the city of Ambala. A brief meeting between the Maharaja and the District Officer decided

NORTHERN INDIA
IN 1857
AFGHANISTAN
BALUCHISTAN
SIND
RAJPUTANA
PUNJAB
HIMALAYA
KASHMIR
OUDH
NEPAL
R. KABUL
KABOL
GHAZNI
KANDHAR
QUETTA
PESHAWAR
RAWALPINDI
SRINAGAR
R. INDUS
R. JHELUM
R. CHENAB
R. RAVI
LAHORE
AMRITSAR
MULTAN
R. SUTLEJ
FEROZEPUR
LUDHIANA
AMBALA
R. JAMUNA
R. GANGES
MEERUT
DELHI
ALIGARH
AGRA
GWALIOR
GRAND TRUNK ROAD
LUCKNOW
KANPUR
BENARAS
ALLAHABAD
JHANSI
PATNA
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the former's line of action. The Maharaja was to garrison Thanesar, an important town on the Grand Trunk Road between Ambala and Delhi and a holy place for the Hindus. The decision to send the Maharaja away from Ambala was, however, not Forsyth's; it was made three hundred miles away by the Chief Commissioner at Rawalpindi. Forsyth relates that the young Maharaja was full of devotion for the British cause and that on receiving the Chief Commissioner's order he "in a moment broke up his camp" and left for Thanesar.[3]

By the night of May 13, the Commissioner of Ambala Division, Barnes, was also in Ambala. Realizing the proximity of his division to the centre of the revolt, Barnes quickly perceived that the maintenance of peace and tranquility in his division would be vital for the successful conduct of operations against Delhi and that the behaviour of the populace in the districts under his charge would be greatly influenced by the example of the Sikh princes. Therefore, he was much gratified to see that the ruler of the leading state in his division, namely, the Maharaja of Patiala, had already gone into action on the British side.

Other Sikh princes in the Cis-Sutlej region were as willing and eager to render help to the British. As directed by the Commissioner, the Raja of Faridkot placed his small army at the disposal of the District Officer of Ferozepur; the Raja of Nabha marched his followers to the vicinity of Ludhiana; and the Raja of Jind accompanied by

Captain McAndrew, forthwith left for Karnal, an important town between Thanesar and Delhi. The Jind ruler was commissioned to keep peace in the country beyond Karnal and to always keep himself in advance of the punitive force that was expected to leave Ambala shortly.[4] Thus within five days of the outbreak of the mutiny, all the Sikh princes of the Cis-Sutlej states had given tangible proof of their loyalty to the British and by May 16 their armies were patrolling the Grand Trunk Road, guarding all key stations on it in the Cis-Sutlej plains.

The petty Sikh jageerdars, who were numerous in the Ambala Division, put their private contingents under the command of the district officers. With their help, the district officers safeguarded the treasuries and ferries, kept open lines of communications, and maintained law and order, as well as British prestige, in their respective districts.[5]

The European regiments encamped in the nearby Simla Hills had descended to the plains with promptitude, and the Commander-in-Chief of the Bengal Army, General Anson, after some dilly-dallying at Simla, arrived in Ambala on May 16. General Anson's small army was sorely short of supplies, carts, and mules. To furnish the need of the army the civil authorities hastily approached the Sikh princes once again. The promptitude with which the Sikh rulers provided carts and camp followers and other supplies enabled the army commanders to despatch the first detachment of the Field Force, as they

now designated the small punitive force, on May 17.[6] However, it took about a week more before all the immediate needs of the army were fulfilled. Through the aid of the Sikh princes, Forsyth records, "500 carts, 2000 camels, and 2000 coolies were made over to the Commissariat Department; 3000 maunds (120 tons) of grain were likewise collected and stored for the army in the town of Umballa."[7]

Meanwhile John Lawrence, the Chief Commissioner of the Punjab, on whose shoulders now lay the heavy burden of saving North-Western India, had been incensed by the inability of the army to look after its own needs during an emergency. And believing that show of energy on the part of General Anson was the real need of the hour, the Chief Commissioner was obliged to open his heart in a demi-official letter to the army chief in which he wrote:

> Pray only reflect on the whole history of India. When have we failed when we acted vigorously? Where have we succeeded when guided by timid counsels? Clive with 1200 fought at Plassey in opposition to the advice of his leading officers, beat 40,000 men, and conquered Bengal. Monson retreated from Chumbul, and before he gained Agra his army was disorganized and partly annihilated. Look at the Cabul catastrophe. It might have been averted by resolute and bold action . . . . How can it be supposed that strangers and mercenaries will sacrifice everything for us? There is a point up to which they will stand by us, for they know that we have always been eventually successful and that we are good masters, but go beyond this point, and every man will look to his immediate benefit, his present safety.[8]

John Lawrence's exhortation produced the desired effect on the Commander-in-Chief, who expedited preparations for his departure towards Delhi. However, before leaving

Ambala he commissioned Lieutenant Hodson and an escort of Sikh horsemen of Raja of Jind to bring intelligence from Meerut whether General Hewitt, the area commander of that station, could spare Europeans for the siege of Delhi. Hodson and his Sikhs accomplished their task by covering the seventy-six miles journey within seventy-two hours. The news they brought from Meerut was good. The Commander-in-Chief would get some Europeans from Meerut.[9]

On the evening of May 24 General Anson and the main body of the Field Force finally left Ambala for Delhi. To ensure the safety of Ambala the Commander-in-Chief took the precaution of taking with the Field Force the two native infantry regiments, the 60th and 5th, which had misbehaved at Ambala on May 10. The troops of the Maharaja of Patiala were enjoined to safeguard the city of Ambala.

The Commander-in-Chief arrived in Karnal on the morning of May 25. He had barely planned his next move towards Delhi when he was taken ill with cholera and died during the early morning hours of May 27. The sudden death of General Anson apparently did not affect the morale of the Field Force. Rather, its Europeans maintained full confidence in their ability to deal effectively with the rebels and they soon begain to call the force as the "Army of Retribution."[10] Hoping to gain a quick victory over the Delhi rebels the Field Force, now commanded by General Barnard, hastened to cover the rest of its journey. At Panipat it

received good news from Meerut: Colonel Archdale Wilson, who was bringing reinforcements from Meerut, had not only thrashed the insurgents but was quite hopeful of joining the Field Force at a point some twenty-five miles north of Delhi.[11]

Wilson's force finally joined the Field Force at Alipur. Delhi was only fifteen miles from Alipur, but a further advance could not be ordered without first eliminating the possibility of treachery from the accompanying sepoys. As a precaution against treachery most sepoys were, therefore, sent off to Rohtuk or in the direction of Meerut for the purpose of maintaining law and order in the villages. The preparations for the coming struggle were then pushed forward and in the early morning hours of June 8 the Field Force advanced from Alipur toward the walls of Delhi.

The entire combatant force under General Barnard was roughly 2500 men. The native element of the Field Force was substantial; for every three Europeans there were two native combatants. The native part of the force mainly consisted of the Gurkhas and the Sikh contingents of Jind and Nabha states.[12] The Sikhs and the Gurkhas were unquestionably staunch and their support was vital. But it remained to be seen how well they would acquit themselves in the coming struggle. This began when the Field Force launched a determined attack on the rebels and dislodged them from a large inn called the "Badli-ki-Serai". A few hours later it also captured the Ridge, forcing the rebels to seek shelter inside

the walls of the Imperial city. During the rest of the day the rebels showed no activity.

In the two battles before Delhi the Sikhs with the Field Force acquitted themselves valiantly. Praising their services in the two actions of June 8, Greathead, who was the political agent of the Lt.-Governor of the North-Western Provinces, wrote to his wife: "A party of Jheend Horse, under Hodson, did good work on the 8th, and their bloody sabres showed they did not strike in vain."[13] And in his victory report General Barnard also acknowledged the good services performed by the contingents of the Sikh princes.[14] In fact the gallantry and coolness shown by the Sikhs in the battles of the inn and the Ridge won them the admiration of every European with the Field Force and by the time it got up its tents in the afternoon its Europeans and Sikhs were comrades-in-arms in the true sense.

With sunrise next day the heavy pieces from the city walls began to fire on the British positions. The British guns, which were light siege guns, retaliated effectively but failed to silence the enemy. By afternoon the cannonading from the city's bastions became still heavier and from then on it continued relentlessly and with the same intensity as long as the city remained in rebel hands.

Further attempts by the enemy on June 10 and 11 to regain possession of the Ridge were frustrated by the British. However, it soon became evident to the British that their resources were inadequate to continue fighting off daily

attacks by the enemy and in view of the lack of troops a plan to invest the city walls on the night of June 12 was abandoned. Above all, intelligence reports coming out of the city made it clear to the British that the mutineers had created some sort of governmental machinery under the King of Delhi which governed the city and planned the rebel war strategy. Therefore, the British began to realize that contrary to what they had expected the city was not simply in the hands of disorganized and dispirited mutineers who would flee at the first opportunity. Propsects of a difficult and protracted siege lay ahead.

What was the real state of affairs inside the city of Delhi? As said before, the city was lost by the British on May 11. The mutineers, however, who lit the torch of rebellion in Delhi did not belong to the native regiments stationed in the city; they came from Meerut, a military station located nearly forty miles to the north-east, where the public execution of a harsh punishment on eighty-five troopers, mostly Moslems, of the 3rd Native Cavalry, who had refused to use the new Enfield cartridges, first precipitated the crisis on May 10. After murdering some European civilians and officers and pillaging and burning their bungalows the Meerut mutineers took the road to Delhi in the evening. The area commander, General Hewitt, sent no force in pursuit of the mutineers and undertook no measures to alert the authorities in Delhi. This state of inaction on the part of the Meerut

command allowed the mutineers to escape.[15]

Unharmed, the mutineers reached Delhi on the morning of May 11. Inside the city they cut up as many European civilians as they could hunt out. By afternoon the native infantry regiments stationed in Delhi cantonment (38th, 54th, and 74th) also mutinied and with that the larger arsenal outside the city also fell into rebel hands. In the hours of confusion and chaos that prevailed in the city a European telegraph clerk hurriedly telegraphed an incomplete message regarding the mutiny to Ambala and made good his escape to the cantonment. Shortly after sunset the European survivors, who had found shelter in the cantonment at Rajpur, took the road to Meerut.

Having overthrown British authority in Delhi the mutineers, compelled by their psychological and pragmatic needs, decided to create a new paramount authority above them. The psychological need of the sepoys was to seek a suitable substitute for the British authority to whom they could transfer their allegiance and in whose name they could justify their revolt against the foreign masters. Naturally there was no better candidate than the Mughal King of Delhi, and so they proclaimed him as the supreme ruler of India. The pragmatic reasons why the mutineers chose the King of Delhi to replace the British authority were even stronger. It was indeed the reluctance of the citizens of Delhi to regard them as the acknowledged servants of any recognized authority and the refusal of the city merchants, who were

overwhelmingly Hindu, to sell them food that quickly persuaded the mutineers to become the army of a Mughal Emperor--an Emperor of their own creating.

The old King of Delhi was the pensioned representative of the Mughal dynasty. For his maintenance Shah Mohammed Abu Zafar Saraj-u-din Mohammed Bahadur received a stipend from the East India Company. The British, however, felt that the King was an unnecessary drain on their purse and they no longer had any use for the royal personage. After Bahadur Shah died they intended to remove the royal family from Delhi and they planned to accord his successor the title of Prince, and not of King and Emperor.[16]

No sooner had the mutineers paid their homage to the shadowy and titular representative of the once glorious Mughal dynasty, than they began to coerce him to give them their pay. The King had no treasury. At his refusal to give them money the mutineers became rude to him and addressed him with such impudent terms as "Ari Buddha, Ari Buddha!" --"I say, you King, I say, you old fellow!"[17]

Surrounded by desperate and murderous bands of mutineers, Bahadur Shah had no choice but to acquiesce in every plan and suggestion of the rebels. At their instance he immediately sent letters to the native rulers of such states as Patiala, Jhajjar, Balbgarh, Bahawalpur, Jaipur, Jodhpur, and Bikaner, urging these princes to rally round their historic and traditional suzerain and to march with their armies to Delhi to defend the imperial city.[18] With the

exception of the Nawab of Jhajjar and the petty Raja of Balbgarh, all native princes of note ignored the King's letters. Nevertheless, this act of sending seditious letters to the princes made the King an unforgiveable enemy in the eyes of the British, who, because of his historic claim to the Indian empire, began to regard him from then on as the central figure of the rebellion. However, it must be remembered that the King's decision to identify himself with the rebels was not a premeditated act on his part; he was innocently caught in the whirlpool of events and had little choice but to go along with the mutineers.

If the pretensions of loyalty and patriotism of the mutineers gave the King hopes of better fortune, their deeds and greedy demands filled his mind with grave misgivings about their motives. Within a few days after their first interview with the King, the mutineers extorted as much money from respectable citizens as they could. Besides, there were dissensions among the mutineers. The Meerut cavalrymen constantly accused the infantry sepoys of Delhi of hiding money plundered from the local treasury. In reply the latter would blame the Meerut men for starting the whole trouble. The two sides often recriminated in the King's presence. Before long, it became clear to Bahadur Shah that to pin his hopes on the mutineers was risky and delusive.

Though dismayed at the behaviour of the mutineers, the King kept urging them to attack Meerut. Constantly pressured,

the rebels finally sent out a force on May 25 to attack the British force coming from Meerut. The rebels, as already noted, were defeated on the banks of the Hindun River. According to an Indian account the prince who commanded the rebel force showed great cowardice during the battle and galloped off from the front position "not heeding the cries of his troops."[19] This native account of the battle revealed that in all likelihood the sepoys did not have in their ranks men with a genius for military leadership; it also showed that the Mughal princes, unfamiliar with the arts of modern warfare, were sadly inadequate personalities to fill the leadership gap.

Despite the defeat of the sepoys at the Battle of Hindun River, Bahadur Shah kept hoping that the sepoys would succeed in checking the advance of the British towards his city. He was, however, again disappointed when in two sharp encounters on June 8 the mutineers lost to the British the inn called Badli-ki-Serai and the Ridge. Again and again he ordered the sepoys to launch a full-scale attack on the Ridge, but the sepoys procrastinated. Absence of harmony among the rebel leaders and, more important, want of courageous and inspiring leaders apparently hindered the rebel plans for a counter attack. In addition, after the loss of the Ridge they seemed to have lost faith in their capabilities to meet the British force.

During the second half of June, the sepoys skirmished with the British but made no serious effort to dislodge them

from the Ridge. On June 23, the 100th anniversary of the Battle of Plassey, the sepoys, believing in a native prophecy that British rule was to end on that day, tried to get to the rear of the British camp. But they were surprised and beaten back by Major Olphert's Sikh Corps which was coming from the Punjab and was about to join the camp.[20] So the historic June 23 also passed without changing the status quo.

A few days later a native officer named Bakht Khan, who commanded the brigade of mutineers from Bareilly and who had in his possession a considerable amount of money which he had plundered from the treasury in Bareilly, offered to relieve the King of his financial difficulties. Besides his financial opulence this massive and chubby adventurer from Bareilly had gained, through art and ability, a place of prominence at the royal court of Delhi. The King regarded Bakht Khan as a capable military leader and relied heavily on his advice. On July 2 the King made Bakht Khan commander-in-chief of the whole rebel army in Delhi.

Bakht Khan stopped haphazard skirmishing with the enemy and instituted plans for more scientific and concerted action to disrupt British supply routes. The foray parties he sent out began to operate with a renewed sense of duty. On one occasion the mutineers surprised the Sikh horsemen escorting the supplies sent by the Maharaja of Patiala for the British and killed them all.[21] On the morning of July 9 Bakht Khan launched his grand attack on the British camp. The Sikh artillerymen in the British camp promptly

turned their fire on the attackers.[22] Their fire wounded and killed many mutineers and forced Bakht Khan to order a retreat. On their return to the city the mutineers celebrated Bakht Khan's raid as a victory and as a proof of their victory they exhibited in public places the severed heads of European captives.

Soon after his impressive raid on the British camp, Bakht Khan found his war plans thwarted by the intrigues of his rivals, who looked upon him as an opportunist and an upstart and no better than any other sepoy officer. The jealousies among the King's officers caused further concern to the King when toward the end of July the mutineers from Neemuch, Kotah, and Gwalior also arrived in the city. This led to mutual recriminations between Bakht Khan and General Ghaus Khan, the commander of the Neemuch brigade. As a result of these jealousies among the sepoy leaders the King eliminated the rank of the commander-in-chief and relegated Bakht Khan to his earlier rank of general, leaving only the Bareilly brigade under his command.

The last days of July harrowed Bahadur Shah in many other ways. Besides the dissensions of his generals, intrigues in his own family became very ugly. His favourite queen, Zeenat Mahal, began to make serious efforts to enlist the support of the army in winning the royal succession for her minor son, Jawan Bakht. Money shortage again became acute toward the end of July. The news of British victories over the rebels at Benaras, Allahabad, and Kanpur also began

to reach Delhi and caused unrest in the King's army.[23] The most trying moments for the King, however, came with the approach of the Moslem festival of Eed. The religious prejudices of the Hindus and Moslems as usual came into direct conflict. Outside the walls of the city, the British hoped for a "grand row" between the city's Hindus and Moslems on August 2, the day of the Eed celebration.[24] However, by outlawing the killing of cows during the Eed celebrations, the King saved his city from tragedy.[25]

During August Bahadur Shah got no relief from his worries. The mutineers kept demanding their pay and extorted money from the citizens, but showed no inclination to assault the Ridge. Thoroughly disgusted with the factious spirit and the spurious mettle of the mutineers the King tried to open negotiations with the British, but he found himself powerless to do so. Therefore, once again reconciling himself to his fate, and seeing no prospects of a compromise gesture from the British side, the King made his last determined effort to restore unity and discipline in his army. On August 23 he deposed all generals from their commands and set up for the future conduct of the siege "a court of twelve members, six to be appointed by the King and six by the army."[26]

If the rebels inside the city suffered from mutual jealousies and distrust in their ranks, the British entrenched outside on the Ridge, though possessing the advantage of unity of command, also had their problems. In July and August, the

main difficulty was the inadequate size of the Field Force. The Sikhs and the Gurkhas had given a good account of themselves in the fights for the capture of the Ridge and, later on, in repelling the attacks of the mutineers on the British camp. More Sikhs and Gurkhas were badly needed to bolster the Field Force. But there were only three Gurkha regiments in the service of the East India Company. One Gurkha regiment, called the Nasiri Regiment, had misbehaved in May in the Simla Hills and was considered unreliable for field service; the Kumaon Regiment of the Gurkhas was in good shape but it was at the time performing the useful duty of guarding the disarmed sepoy regiments at Lahore; the third Gurkha Regiment was the Sirmoor Regiment and was before Delhi as part of the Field Force. Hence there was no possibility of more Gurkhas joining the Field Force. Additional Sikhs, however, could be had from the Punjab and the commander of the Field Force sent urgent requests to the Punjab Government for Sikh reinforcements. Since the contingents of the Sikh princes had already taken the field with the British, the Punjab Government could provide additional Sikh soldiers for the Field Force only from its own Punjabi troops which consisted of the Punjab Irregular Frontier Force and seven Police Battalions--almost twenty-four thousand men all told.[27] The strength of the Sikhs in the Punjabi force, which was completely under the Chief Commissioner's authority, was appreciable. Of the eighteen Punjabi infantry regiments, for example, four (the 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 4th Sikhs)were Sikh regiments and the Sikhs

were quite numerous in other units of the Punjabi force. It was the Sikh combatants in this Punjabi force, in addition to newly recruited Sikhs, who were sent down during the months of June and July as reinforcements for the Field Force outside Delhi.

Although the Punjab Government also sent, in addition to the Sikh reinforcements, nearly 1,000 European soldiers to Delhi during those two months, the commander of the Field Force, General Barnard, still felt that his force was not strong enough to invest the city walls. Besides, the prevalence of sickness and fever in the camp also discouraged Barnard from ordering a general attack on the city. During the first week of July Barnard was himself hit by cholera and swept away by death. His successor, General Reed, despite further reinforcements of Sikh artillerymen and Sikh horsemen during July,[28] also considered the strength of the Field Force insufficient to storm the city. To lead an attack on the city was, in any case, beyond the capabilities of General Reed for he was old, ill, and weak. Therefore, on July 16 he made over the command of the Field Force to Brigadier Wilson and returned to Ambala.

Wilson was a soldier of far superior calibre than either of the first three commanders of the Field Force. Under his command the head-quarters of the Field Force began to function smoothly and coordination among its various branches was quickly established. His subordinates were strongly impressed with his quiet demeanor and the clarity of his

orders. But he was rather over-cautious and he often delayed action till he had minutely calculated all the odds against him. Only two days after assuming command, Wilson earned abuse from some of his colleagues for his decision to wait for more reinforcements and a first class siege-train of extra-heavy guns.

Wilson's hopes of getting help from General Havelock, who was campaigning against the rebels in the country between Benaras and Lucknow, were dashed by the latest intelligence which showed that Havelock had peremptory orders from the Governor-General to relieve Lucknow. The source of help for Wilson, therefore, had to be the Punjab again. Accordingly, on July 18, Wilson telegraphed Sir John Lawrence asking for one complete European regiment and one or two Sikh regiments. And Wilson's message ended with the warning: "Retreat to Karnal will be necessary if not reinforced rapidly. Please reply by telegraph."[29]

Wilson's bleak warning elicited a prompt reply from Lawrence. He assured Wilson of sending to Delhi 1,700 men immediately.[30] Shortly after, the Chief Commissioner again wrote to Wilson and promised him an additional force of 2,500 men.[31] John Lawrence was, in fact, prepared to give Wilson every available soldier in his province, because Delhi, besides affording the rebels a political cause, had by mid-July become the testing ground for British endurance and power. Retreat from Delhi, in his opinion, would prove fatal, since it would induce the Punjabis and the Sikhs to

rise against the British. In an urgent letter to the Governor-General, John Lawrence outlined the dangers which he feared would arise in the wake of British retreat from Delhi. "If we fall at Delhy, we cannot hope to hold the Punjab," he informed Lord Canning, and in the same letter he disclosed his mutiny policy, and his determination, of maintaining "the life and death struggle at Delhy to the last," also proposing withdrawal of forces from the Peshawar Valley should Wilson need further reinforcements.[32] In the meantime the Chief Commissioner lost no time in ordering the promised force of four thousand two hundred men, mostly Sikhs and Europeans, to leave for Delhi.

It was a happy coincidence that Wilson's desperate call for more men came at a time when the mutinies in John Lawrence's own province were just about put down and the European and Sikh regiments, locked in the struggles inside the Punjab for two months, could be sent to Delhi without endangering the peace in the province. Since the loyalty and cooperation of the Sikhs made possible the timely suppression of the mutinies inside the Punjab, it would be appropriate to examine the services given by the Sikhs in suppressing these uprisings.

When the mutiny broke out in May 1857, there were forty-one Hindustani regiments (nearly 36,000 sepoys) stationed in the Punjab, and, as the censored letters of some sepoys showed, disaffection in these regiments also existed. The Punjab authorities, therefore, became vigilant as soon

as they received from Ambala the telegraphic message concerning mutiny in Delhi. Within two days of the receipt of the news, the Punjab officials, under the initiative of Robert Montgomery, the Judicial Commissioner, secured their major forts and arsenals at Lahore, Amritsar, and Ferozepur by placing European troops in them. At the same time the Punjab authorities moved swiftly to disarm the Hindustani regiments stationed near Lahore, the seat of the Punjab Government, because a Sikh non-commissioned officer in the police corps revealed a conspiracy of these sepoy regiments to attack and seize the Lahore fort.[33] Through a bold and masterly plan Brigadier Corbett and the Judicial Commissioner turned out all native and European troops on May 13 and disarmed the 16th, 26th, and 49th Native Infantry Regiments which stood facing the European artillery. A few Sikhs and other Punjabis, who belonged to these Hindustani regiments, were given back their arms shortly after and grouped into a new, separate battalion.

A day after the successful disarming of the sepoys at Lahore, the 45th and 57th Native Infantry Regiments, which were not disarmed, mutinied at Ferozepur and made an attempt to seize the arsenal. Their attack on the arsenal was, however, frustrated by the bayonets of the Europeans. Before night came the mutineers deserted the station and took to the wilderness of the desert. General Van Cortlandt quickly raised a levy of five hundred Sikhs in the Ferozepur district and went in pursuit of the mutineers. The troops of the Raja

of Nabha also joined in the campaign. Van Cortlandt's Sikhs found the mutineers in the Sirsa and Hissar districts, where the Moslem Bhati Rajputs had also raised the standard of revolt. A spirited campaign by the Sikhs destroyed the Ferozepur mutineers and broke the strength of the Bhati rebels.[34]

Before the end of May the sparks of mutiny also appeared on the north-west frontier. On May 21 the fort at Hotee Mardan was seized by mutineers of the 55th Native Infantry Regiment. About one hundred Sikhs who belonged to this regiment took no part in the five-day mutiny. When Major Nicholson came to punish the mutineers the Sikhs voluntarily joined his force and fought bravely during the hot pursuit of the Hindustanis, many of whom were killed by their pursuers, though a large number of the sepoys made good their escape into tribal territory, where they were reportedly welcomed by the proselytizing mullahs.[35]

In June mutiny occurred at Jullundur. On the night of June 7 the 36th and 61st Native Infantry and the 6th Light Cavalry Regiments mutinied and the sepoys tried unsuccessfully to steal the treasure, which was kept in the sepoy lines. Frustrated in this attempt, the mutineers fell on the bungalows of a few Europeans and set them afire; some Europeans were killed. All night the military authorities took no steps to quell the mutiny. In contrast to this negligence by the military authorities the civil officials worked energetically all through the night to ensure the

security of the city. The first step that the DeputyCommissioner, Captain Farrington, took to protect his city was to summon to his help the troops of the Sikh ruler of the neighbouring state of Kapurthala. The Raja of Kapurthala personally brought his troops to Jullundur on the very night of the mutiny and the city was saved. In the morning it was found that the mutineers had escaped toward Phillaur. The delay on the part of the military authorities in sending pursuit parties allowed the mutineers enough head-start to reach Phillaur safely. At Phillaur the sepoys of the 3rd Native Infantry joined their comrades from Jullundur and by noon the mutineers were on the other side of the Sutlej River. However, across the river the mutineers were surprised by a party of Sikhs led by E. H. M. Ricketts, the Deputy Commissioner of Ludhiana. Rickett's force, which consisted of the Sikhs of the Nabha force and the 4th Sikh Regiment, fought gallantly, but it was too weak to dispute the passage of the mutineers. At Ludhiana one more company of the 3rd Native Infantry Regiment joined the mutineers. But when the pursuit party, consisting of one hundred Europeans, four companies of the 4th Sikh Regiment, and some troops of the Kapurthala Raja reached Ludhiana the main body of the mutineers was already on its way to Delhi. After catching a few sepoy straddlers the weary pursuers gave up the chase.[36]

A month-long quiet that prevailed after the Jullundur mutiny was broken on July 7 by the mutiny at Jhelum of the 14th Native Infantry Regiment. This regiment, despite its

misbehaviour in the past, was not disarmed by its commanding officer and on the morning of July 7, while it was at parade, a small European force happened to arrive from Rawalpindi. On seeing the Europeans the sepoys were suddenly seized with fear and panic and then mutinied. About one hundred Sikhs of the regiment, who had just been separated from the Hindustanis, ran off from the parade ground and joined the European force. Severe fighting ensued in the sepoys' huts. Then the mutineers, nearly five hundred strong, escaped into a nearby village, where renewed fighting took place. One British gun fell into the hands of the sepoys, but the rebels were surrounded by the Europeans, Sikhs, and the mounted police. At night the mutineers made good their escape from the village but many were drowned while crossing the Jhelum River. Those who managed to cross the river entered the territory of the Maharaja of Kashmir. They were later apprehended by the military police. The European loss in the Jhelum mutiny was heavy. The Sikhs also suffered heavy casualties. The British paid a special tribute to the memory of a gallant Sikh subedar named Sham Singh, who was killed during the encounter.[37]

Encouraged by the exaggerated reports of the success of the Jhelum mutineers the 4th Native Infantry Regiment and a wing of the 9th Light Cavalry Regiment mutinied at Sialkot on the morning of July 9. The Sialkot sepoys were not disarmed. Here, too, the commandant, Brigadier Brind, had placed undue confidence in the sepoys and had refused to

disarm them.[38] The absence of European soldiers from the station also encouraged the sepoys to rebel. The mutineers not only killed many Europeans, including Brigadier Brind, but also plundered the town. During the hours of lawlessness a Sikh lady courageously stood by her employers, Dr. and Mrs. Butler. The Sikhni was the wet nurse of the Butlers' child. While hiding themselves in a godown the Butlers made over their child to her, thinking that "they might all perish and that the little one be saved."[39] The Sikhni took the child and slipped away from the godown and remained in hiding all day. Luckily the tragedy did not befall the Butlers. When the mutineers were gone from the town the Sikhni brought back the child to the parents. This heroic tale of the Sikh lady was not the only example of the faithfulness of the Sikhs during the Sialkot mutiny. The lives of the sick Europeans in the Sialkot fort were also saved by the newly recruited Sikhs, and the Sikh levy also saved the treasure.

After plundering the town the Sialkot mutineers left for Gurdaspur. On hearing that the mutineers were heading for their city the Sikh _jageerdars_ of the Gurdaspur District immediately raised men at their own expense for the protection of the city.[40] The _jageerdars_ were, however, soon relieved of their anxiety, because Major Nicholson's infantrymen, after disarming the 55 Native Infantry Regiment at Amritsar, intercepted the Sialkot mutineers on May 12. In a sharp conflict on the banks of Ravi River Nicholson's force destroyed the main body of the Sialkot mutineers.[41]

The mutinies at Jhelum and Sialkot compelled the Punjab Government to order the disarming of all the remaining Hindustani regiments which still retained their arms and horses. The orders of the Government were promptly complied with by the commandants of the stations involved. At Ferozepur the sepoys of the 10th Light Cavalry were disarmed and dismounted. The 4th Native Infantry, stationed at Kangra and Nurpur, were overawed by the sudden appearance of a Sikh Police Battalion called the "Sher Dils" (the lion-hearted) and disarmed without much difficulty.[42] And with these disarmament measures successfully executed at Ferozepur and Kangra, no Hindustani sepoys stationed in the Cis-Indus Punjab carried arms. But the Punjab authorities, whose constant vigilance and exertions had made the province safer from the mutinies, were now suddenly burdened with the problem of guarding a large number of disarmed sepoys.

Although the sepoys were disarmed, the possibility of their escape still existed. The escaped mutineers, the authorities feared, would try to incite the people of the Punjab to rise against the British. The Punjab authorities, therefore, kept the disarmed sepoys under heavy guard. Yet about six hundred disarmed Hindustanis of the 26th Native Infantry Regiment managed to escape from Lahore on July 30. After murdering their commanding officer these sepoys fled from Lahore into the neighbouring territory of Amritsar District. Tragedy awaited these unfortunate men. The villagers in the Amritsar district immediately reported the arrival of

the sepoys to the civil authorities. The Deputy Commissioner, F. Cooper, and his civil police, with the vigorous help of the famous sirdars of the Attari and Sindhanwalla families, captured two hundred thirty-two sepoys. About as many were drowned in the river or killed during the struggle. After summarily trying the captured Hindustanis Cooper order their execution. The Sikhs made up the firing party and carried out the magistrate's order on the spot. After the executions the assembled mob of Sikh villagers told Cooper that the executions were "righteous".[43]

Like the Lahore sepoys the disarmed sepoys of the 10th Light Cavalry at Ferozepur also staged an escape. On August 19 nearly two hundred sepoys of this regiment, after making an unsuccessful attempt to seize the guns, escaped from the cantonment. The local military authorities made no attempt to capture the escapees. Nevertheless, Major F. Marsden, the Deputy Commissioner, sent out a detachment of the Patiala Horse to round up the sepoys. Marsden personally led the chase and his party soon overtook the escapees. But the overwhelmingly large body of the mutineers, who were armed with swords and spears, suddenly attacked Marsden's party and forced it to retreat. Marsden himself had a narrow escape. The sepoys, after their encounter with Marsden's party, escaped into the barren tracts of Hissar and Sirsa.[44] Some of them were destroyed by the Sikhs of General Van Cortlandt and some by the Hodson's Horse operating near Rohtuk. Only a few remnants reached Delhi safely.

The destruction of the Hindustani sepoys who escaped from Lahore and Ferozepur was an object lesson for the rest, and at no other place in the cis-Indus districts of the Punjab did the disarmed sepoys attempt to escape. The trans-Indus districts, however, were once more rocked by the mutiny of the disarmed sepoys of the 51st Native Infantry Regiment which was stationed near Peshawar. This regiment was suspected of procuring arms from the tribal territory and hiding them in the sepoys' huts. On August 28 these sepoys mutinied when the Afghan levy were ordered to search the huts of the sepoys. The mutiny lasted for two days and finally the entire body of eight hundred fifty mutineers were destroyed by a force of European and Sikh soldiers commanded by Captain Cave.[45] After the extermination of the mutinous 51st Native Infantry no further mutinies occurred in the trans-Indus districts, though of the seven thousand sepoys stationed there half still bore arms.

Thus the storm of mutinies that raged in the Punjab for three months subsided by the end of August. The pinnacle of its fury was around the middle of July, when the Sialkot mutineers were crushed through the relentless efforts of Nicholson. The mutinies at Lahore, Ferozepur, and Peshawar, which occurred during the latter half of July and during August, were comparatively less serious, being just attempts of the disarmed sepoys to effect an escape. Therefore, with the destruction of the Sialkot sepoys in mid-July and the quick disarming of the rest of the sepoy regiments after the

Sialkot mutiny the Government of the Punjab was greatly relieved of its anxiety about the tranquility of the province and it had decided, even before receiving Wilson's urgent message for more men, "to risk sending more reinforcements to Delhi."[46]

As said earlier General Wilson was in urgent need of European and Sikh infantry. By the end of July the Punjab Government had enough Sikhs for Wilson, because the recruitment of the Sikhs from the districts of Amritsar, Gurdaspur, Jullundur, Hoshiarpur, and Ludhiana--the districts in which the percentage of the Sikh population was higher than other areas--had been especially successful.[47] Some of these newly raised Sikh regiments were charged with the duty of guarding the Hindustani sepoys and about 1,300 European infantry were relieved by the Sikhs. It was these Europeans who formed a part of the reinforcements of 4,200 men that left for Delhi during the latter half of July. After these reinforcements were gone only about 5,000 Europeans were left with the Punjab Government.[48]

Even after sending heavy reinforcements to Delhi in July the Punjab Government did not slacken its efforts to contribute to the recapture of Delhi, because the Chief Commissioner believed that a British retreat from Delhi would spark rebellion in the Punjab. Besides, John Lawrence felt that retreat from Delhi would make him lose face, since it was at his insistence that the Field Force was sent to Delhi in the first place. "On every principle of honour and policy,

I was bound to keep the troops there until the place fell, or aid arrived from England,"[49] Lawrence confessed later. Therefore, to defend his set policy and strategy during the mutiny, as well as his personal honour, John Lawrence left no source of strength untapped to make it unnecessary for General Wilson to retreat from Delhi. Accordingly, early in August, on learning that the British cavalry strength before Delhi was insufficient, the Chief Commissioner forthwith ordered the creation of a new corps of Sikh Cavalry at Lahore, and when he was encouraged by a hearty response from the Sikhs he soon began to think of raising one more cavalry regiment of Sikhs.[50] Meanwhile the Chief Commissioner also secured the help of the Maharaja of Kashmir, who contributed an auxiliary force of 2,640 Dogra soldiers for the siege of Delhi. Putting the Dogra contingent under the command of his younger brother, Captain R. Lawrence, the Chief Commissioner despatched it to Delhi.[51] A wing of the Belooch Battalion, which had freshly arrived from Sind, and a first class siege train from Ferozepur were also put on the move towards Delhi. Then, soon after, making his last effort to enhance the effectiveness of General Wilson's besieging army, John Lawrence ordered to Delhi the last available Europeans and the Sikh and Gurkha troops in Nicholson's Moveable Column. And with the departure of these reinforcements the anxiety of the Chief Commissioner and his colleagues to hear encouraging news from Delhi also heightened. The strained mood of the Punjab authorities at this time was described by Temple,

the author of the Fourth Punjab Administration Report, in the following terms:

> When these reinforcements had started for Delhi, the die was finally cast; the supreme effort had been made; the cup had been drained to its last drop; the chord had been strained almost to breaking . . . If Delhi were taken, the successful course of the Punjab Administration would remain uninterrupted. If, with the last aid, Delhi were not taken, and that speedily, there would then be a struggle not only for European dominion, but even for European existence, within the Punjab itself.[52]

With aid from the Punjab and, presumably, also as a result of John Lawrence's clamour against the idea of a retreat, General Wilson quickly made up his mind to stay on the Ridge. In a letter to the Lieutenant-Governor of the North-Western Provinces, Wilson revealed his new determination, as well as his hopes and apprehensions:

> It is my determination to hold my present position and to resist every attack. The enemy are very numerous--may possibly break through our entrenchments and overwhelm us, but this force will die at their post. Luckily the enemy have no head and no method, and we hear dissensions are breaking out among them. Reinforcements are coming up under Nicholson; if we can hold on till they arrive we shall be secure.[53]

Fresh reinforcements from the Punjab kept pouring into the British camp before Delhi through the month of August. As body after body of soldiers--Europeans, Sikhs, and Gurkhas--arrived the clouds of gloom and depression that hung over the war-weary camp for the last two months gradually began to lift. Feelings of security and the hope of successfully ending the long struggle steadily became stronger. Fresh supplies and provisions, also coming from the Punjab, made camp life

pleasanter. In spite of the daily skirmishes with the mutineers, and the occasional bursting of enemy rockets in the heart of the camp, the evenings became merrier. The martial tunes of the Sikh band[54] livened up the hours of dusk, while the grog-drinking parties of the European, Sikh, and Gurkha soldiers indulged in after-dinner gossip, betraying no strains of war, either in their physiques or on their spirits. But far more inspiring than the grog and the martial music was, for the soldiers, the presence now in the camp of a fine and imposing-looking officer, the exterminator of the rebels in the Punjab, "the hurricane of the north"--John Nicholson.

In spite of the steady flow of reinforcements from the Punjab and the renewed atmosphere of hope and confidence, General Wilson, the commander of the Field Force, gave no indication as to when he would order an attack on the city. Calculating as ever, Wilson in fact did not want to settle this question without learning once more about General Havelock's position.[55] Wilson not only hoped to get aid from Havelock but also expected to receive through him intelligence regarding the whereabouts of the regiments called back from China and some news about the long overdue help from Britain. The country between Delhi and Calcutta, however, was so disturbed at this time that almost a news blackout prevailed over that area. Once in a while some fragmentary intelligence reached Delhi through spies, but such bits of information gave no clear indication of the strength and movement of British forces in the districts east and south

of Delhi. Yet Wilson persevered; he was not a rash soldier. But his overcarefulness and his persistent silence on the question of time of assault on the city soon began to annoy his colleagues and as the month neared an end the demurrings at Wilson's policy of delaying the assault became louder and louder. However, Wilson remained firm and waited, hopefully, for additional aid from the east, quite unaware that his hopes were already doomed.

Wilson did not know that the European regiments which returned to Calcutta from China and the Mauritius in late July were, upon disembarkation, immediately assigned to the task of quelling the rebellion around Patna in Bihar province and even General Havelock would not get any part of this 3,000 strong force until peace returned to the districts between Patna and Calcutta.[56] Wilson was also unaware that so far not even one soldier from England had landed on Indian soil. Since news took weeks to travel between India and Britain, it could not be even guessed what measures the Home Government had adopted to supply reinforcements to the Indian Government. Nevertheless, the long and strained period of expecting reinforcements from Britain was slowly beginning to demoralize Wilson's Europeans.

Little did the Europeans before Delhi know that the Home Government did not regard the crisis in India as disconcerting and certainly not a threat to Her Majesty's Indian Empire as some opposition members like the Earl of Ellenborough described it.[57] And the reasons why grave

apprehensions did not arise in the minds of the Home authorities appear to be twofold. First, for their knowledge of the developments in India, the British Government depended on official communications from the Government of India, which were few and far between. By mid-July the British Government had received, for example, only three or four official mutiny reports sent by electric telegraph from India. The problem of distance and communications made it impossible for the British Government to grasp the full intensity of the crisis in India. Second, the disclosures made by the India Government's mutiny communications concerning the steadfastness and loyalty of the Punjabis--the people whose war-like qualities became too well known to the Britons only eight years ago during the Sikh Wars--persuaded the British Government not to regard the sepoy mutiny as a complete disaster.[58] In short, the British Government believed that the Indian crisis warranted the despatch of some troops to India, but, as Lord Panmure, the Secretary of State for War, indicated on May 19, 1857, the Government were in no hurry to despatch troops to India, especially during its "peculiarly unhealthy season of the year."[59]

It was not until July that four thousand British soldiers left Britain for India. Most of them were transported in sailing ships which, in compliance with the orders of the Home Government, took the usual route round the Cape. Why the Government did not employ faster steam ships was not clearly explained by the authorities. However, a private letter written by a senior military officer in Britain to his

son-in-law in India gave some clue to the recipient of the letter as to why the Home Government decided against the employment of steamers. The reason explained in the letter was:

> France has larger body of seamen (upwards of one hundred and twenty thousand maritime able-bodied men against our forty thousand)--We cannot send out our war-steamers with the troops--We cannot spare them, or, rather man them . . . You can understand why war-steamers were not employed by our Government with the troops for India.[60]

On the other hand, during a long and heated debate, in which the Opposition led by Disraeli charged the Government with underrating the danger to the British position in India, Vernon Smith, President of the Board of Control, explained in the Commons on August 14, 1857, that the troops were sent to India by the usual, long route round the Cape because the conveyance of the troops across the Isthmus of Suez during the hot season would be injurious, in the Government's view, to the health of the Europeans.[61]

The Home Government's disclosure of its reasons for sending the troops to India by the Cape route in sailing ships was received with mixed reactions in Britain. While supporting the Government's efforts to suppress the mutiny, The Times, in a special editorial, shared the regret expressed by many Members of Parliament that the obvious advantages afforded by Britain's mechanical inventions and the overland route to India were not exploited, and at the same time it castigated the politicians, the leader of the Opposition in particular, for indulging in "professional prejudice" and "official pedantry" during a dangerous crisis.[62]

Two weeks later the texts of the speeches delivered in the House of Commons during the debate of August 11 were also published in India. The Europeans in the army before Delhi eagerly read all the speeches. However, the President of the Board of Control's speech caused much excitement among the Europeans in the camp behind the Ridge. Describing their reaction Keith Young wrote to his wife: "We had all the speeches read out at mess last night, and we decided the President of the Board of Control, Vernon Smith, is a donkey and noodle!"[63]

The latest news from Britain, and the long silence of General Havelock, finally convinced the Europeans in Wilson's army that there was little hope of receiving timely aid either from Britain or from the districts between Calcutta and Delhi. Yet despite their disappointment with the Home Government and their anxiety to know about Havelock's position, they began to feel hopeful during the last days of August that, with the reinforcements from the Punjab pouring in day and night, the city would soon fall. Moreover, inspiring officers like Nicholson gradually began to pull the army out of its state of lethargy and overcautiousness. As a result of this fresh inspiration and renewed activity a spectacular victory was won on August 25. During the early morning hours of that day a moveable column, consisting of two European and two Sikh corps, some cavalry, and sixteen guns,[64] left the camp under Nicholson's command and went in the direction of a town called Najafgarh with the object of

intercepting the enemy who, it was reported, had moved out in considerable strength to attack the British camp from the rear. The intelligence regarding the enemy's position was accurate. The Neemuch brigade of the rebels was at Najafgarh in full force and its supporting Bareilly brigade of General Bakht Khan was camped a few miles behind at Palam. About four in the afternoon Nicholson fell upon the Neemuch brigade. Fierce fighting lasted for four hours. The rebels were completely routed. The Bareilly brigade never came up to support the Neemuch brigade during the engagement. The Sikhs under Nicholson's command fought bravely and suffered the heaviest losses in the moveable column. Thirteen guns and many ammunition wagons of the rebels fell into British hands.[65]

Nicholson's victory at Najafgarh raised the morale of the Field Force, because nothing like this had taken place since the taking of the Ridge from the mutineers on June 8.[66] After the Najafgarh victory few in the British camp remained skeptical about the recapture of Delhi in the near future. And when it was heard that a first rate siege train from the Punjab was only a few days away, the conjectures about the coming day of the assault became wilder and bolder. The work of clearing the ground on the eastern slopes of the Ridge, which went on incessantly for days, gave further impetus to the speculations about the day of the assault. But only one man--General Wilson--knew when that fateful day was to be.

If Nicholson's victory brightened the British prospects of successfully ending the Delhi campaign, it

produced a correspondingly demoralizing effect on the sepoys. As a direct result of their defeat at Najafgarh the sepoys of the Neemuch brigade on their return to the city lost no time in hurling charges of betrayal at Bakht Khan and his Bareilly brigade. Soon the recriminations between the two brigades became very ominous. Besides this perpetual rivalry between these two brigades, things in general had also shown little improvement under the direction of the Court which was set up by the King for the conduct of the siege. According to the sepoys themselves the Court had created "confusion worse confounded."[67] The mercenary attitude of the sepoys also did not change. Because British vigilance had lately made it difficult for the sepoys to send out revenue-collecting parties, their demands for money became increasingly unbearable for the King and his subjects. The mutineers once even threatened to imprison the King's favourite Queen unless their pay was given within two weeks. To escape this indignity the King and Queen were obliged to make over their silver articles to the sepoys.[68] But even this gesture from the royal hands failed to satisfy the greed of the mutineers and the King finally ordered the collection of three months' rent from every shop and house in his city.[69] Nevertheless, seeing no prospects of getting their regular pay many sepoys left the city. In truth the sepoys had been deserting Delhi ever since the British reinforcements from the Punjab had started to arrive in early August; however, sepoy desertions from the city had increased considerably after the thrashing

they received from Nicholson at Najafgarh.[70] The sepoys who remained in the city were disorganized and demoralized and they frantically hoped for help from the native regiments stationed in the Punjab. In desperation they once again despatched the autographed royal letters to the native princes urging them to join the struggle against the English, also telling the princes that the King wished to form a confederacy of states.[71]

As the month of September began the whole city was suddenly seized with panic at the arrival of the siege-train in the British camp. The citizens locked the doors of their shops and homes. The prices of food soared overnight and the Court found it necessary to order the police to fix prices every day. The mounting panic gave the bad characters and the roaming sepoys a freer hand in plundering shops and houses. Amidst this atmosphere of mounting tension and fear General Bakht Khan reported to the King on September 5 that the British were erecting their breaching batteries before the Kashmir Gate. Two days later the military Court under the King issued a proclamation urging every soldier and citizen to attack the British camp with full force on September 8, and the Court promised to give rewards to those "who made prisoners of Gurkhas, Sikhs, or English."[72] But on the very morning of the day designated for the attack, British guns began thundering and battering at the Kashmir and Mori Gates.

Although the British siege guns began pounding the walls of Delhi, General Wilson still showed his skepticism about the advisability of an assault on the city. As he explained afterwards, he did not at the time believe that the assault should take place until more reinforcements, possibly from the eastern districts, joined him.[73] In the camp, however, there were officers who vehemently deplored Wilson's indecision and caution. They felt that the siege of Delhi had reached its most critical stage and that the long conflict had already caused enough frustration in the minds of the men. The Sikhs in particular, they observed, were becoming restless with the seemingly unending campaign. Even in the Punjab the Sikh population was slowly becoming disillusioned with the British power. In short, by the first week of September the Sikhs had begun to wonder whether they were on the winning side in the conflict.[74] To add to the seriousness of the situation the Punjabi Mohammedans, also encouraged by the inability of the British to recapture Delhi, began to think of re-establishing Islamic rule.[75] The delay in retaking Delhi was, therefore, becoming daily more ominous and no one in the British camp better understood the nature of the danger that could arise from the growing disillusionment of the Sikhs with the British power than such first-rate officers as Brigadier Nicholson, Chamberlain, who was the Acting Adjutant-General in the Field Force, Becher, Quarter-Master-General, and Lieutenant Hodson--all of whom fought against the Sikhs and had been with the Sikh regiments

since the end of the Sikh Wars. These officers from the Punjab avowedly opposed General Wilson's policy of delaying the assault any further. The dispute between General Wilson and these officers finally reached a point where these men, led by Nicholson, whom the Chief Commissioner of the Punjab had specially commissioned to recapture Delhi, were almost ready to repudiate the authority of their commander. Fortunately Wilson succumbed to the weight of opinion of his opponents and all concerned were spared the embarrassment and tragedy. The seriousness of the dispute, however, was brought to light by Nicholson in his letter of September 11 to John Lawrence. Revealing his readiness to disown Wilson's authority Nicholson wrote to the Chief Commissioner: "Had Wilson carried out his threat of withdrawing the guns, I was quite prepared to appeal to the army to set him aside and elect a successor!"[76]

Meanwhile the battering at the Kashmir and Mori Gates which had begun on September 8 continued relentlessly for five more days. By the morning of September 13 the enemy guns on the two bastions were silenced by the siege batteries and the enemy replied only with musketry fire. Next morning the Kashmir and Mori bastions lay in ruins and the British guns suddenly stopped pouring shots on the walls. A party of eight British and Indian miners and sappers went daringly forward and in the face of enemy fire blew up the Kashmir Gate. The bugler then sounded the advance and the attack began. Three columns, including Brigadier Nicholson's,

stormed the breaches at Kashmir Gate and despite the heavy fire of the enemy, who lay concealed behind the walls, successfully ascended the breaches and got inside the city. But the fourth column that was to enter the city through the Lahore Gate failed to achieve its objective and was forced to retire. After heavy fighting the three columns that successfully took the Kashmir Gate bastion cleared away the rebels as far as Kabul Gate and the Jama Masjid; but after that the firing by the enemy from the houses became really treacherous. At that point Brigadier Nicholson, while urging his soldiers to advance further through the narrow streets, was mortally wounded. An eye-witness account of Nicholson's death and the advance in the streets by Sikh and European soldiers was related by an officer of the 1st European Bengal Fusiliers:

> In one charge, Nicholson, our best and bravest, was struck down . . . and I, in reforming the regiment for a renewed attempt, was shot through the right shoulder . . . Out of our small party, seven officers and many, very many men had fallen. It was felt to be madness to continue the struggle where the enemy had all the advantage, and the troops were withdrawn to the Cabul Gate, but the British and Sikh soldiers had done their work, they had opened the road for our unrivalled artillery to bring in their guns, and in six days they cleared the city with very trifling loss on our side.[77]

Those six days after the assault, however, were very trying for General Wilson. Only a day after the assault the European soldiers presented Wilson with a serious discipline problem. The unlimited stock of liquor robbed from the shops became a tempting source of distraction. The drinking

orgy of the Europeans stopped only after all the liquor was destroyed under General Wilson's orders and the "work of destruction was carried out chiefly by the Sikhs and Punjabis, and the wasted drink ran in streams through the conduits of the city."[78] Furthermore, some of Wilson's best officers had either been killed or wounded during the attack. Bitter street fighting and fire from the houses engendered acts of disobedience. Lamenting the low morale of the Europeans at that time Lieutenant Hodson wrote to his wife:

> We are making slow progress in the city. The fact is, the troops are utterly demoralized by hard work and hard drink, I grieve to say. For the first time in my life I have had to see English soldiers refuse to follow their officers.[79]

Acts of looting and indiscriminate killing of male citizens also bore hard on Wilson's conscience. In spite of his warning before the assault that the plundering of the citizens inside the city would not be tolerated, both the Europeans and the Sikhs plundered the riches of Delhi. Confessing that he nearly yielded to temptation on one occasion, Greathead wrote to his wife: "The men were breaking open the hermetically sealed cases with their bayonets. You may imagine that the cheeses and bacon did not remain long. There were some chandeliers to which I think I had some right, but I am a poor plunderer."[80] Fortunately the soldiers did not harm women and children, though the mad excitement of the Europeans and Sikh soldiers, it was feared, could lead them to any amount of crime.[81] Nonetheless, the indiscriminate killing of the male population of the city ruined, according

to the contemporary Urdu poet Ghalib, the hopes of the peace-loving citizens and even of many a well-wisher of the British. Escape from the city, Ghalib further attested, was in fact the only way left for the citizens to save their lives and thousands made good their escape in time through the Ajmer, Turkman, and Delhi Gates which remained in the hands of the mutineers for a few more days after the launching of the assault on September 14.[82]

The constant cannonading by the British of the sepoy concentrations near the Ajmer, Turkman, and Delhi Gates added to the misfortunes of the citizens of Delhi. However, the constant shelling of the enemy positions was the only way to decimate the enemy, because with the discipline of his force reaching a breaking point and his men dying every hour from the treacherous fire from the houses, General Wilson could not order his remaining force of 3,100 men to continue their advance towards the enemy positions. British artillery fire produced the desired results. The disheartened sepoys kept fleeing from the city and Wilson's force slowly crept on toward the other end of the city. By September 19 most sepoys were gone and their guns on the Palace walls had also fallen silent. And it was learnt that the rebels who still offered resistance in the city were about a hundred Sikh prisoners who had earlier escaped from Agra jail.[83] However, these last embers of resistance also died out by the morning of September 20 and the Palace and the whole city were once again in British hands. Next day the King and his family,

who had evacuated the Palace and were hiding in Hamayun's tomb, were captured by Lieutenant Hodson, who, while bringing the royal prisoners back to Delhi, shot three princes to death with his own carbine.[84]

A day later on September 22, General Wilson wrote from the Palace, which he had turned into his temporary headquarters, his final report regarding the operations of his force during the three-month siege of Delhi and paying his tribute of gratitude to the Sikhs and the Punjab Government for their invaluable help to him Wilson said:

> Of the loyal services rendered to the State by the Rajah of Puttiala, which must be so well known to the Government, it may not be considered necessary for me to speak; but it is incumbent on me in my capacity as Commander of this Force to acknowledge officially the great assistance the Rajah's troops have afforded me in enabling the numerous convoys of ammunition and stores to travel in security and safety to my camp under their escort and protection.
>
> Equally it is my duty to bring prominently to the notice of Government the admirable service performed by the Jheend Rajah and his troops under command of Lieut.-Colonel H. F. Dunsford. They have not only had very harassing duties to carry out in the constant escort of convoys of sick and wounded men, ammunition, etc., but they have also aided in the Field on more than one occasion, and finally participated in the assault of the City.
>
> Lastly, I trust I may be excused if I thus publicly acknowledge the all-important and invaluable aid for which I am indebted to the Chief Commissioner of the Punjab, Sir John Lawrence, K. C. B., to whose indefatigable exertions in reinforcing me with every available soldier in the Punjab, the successful result of our operation is, I hesitatingly pronounce, attributable . . . .[85]

The fall of Delhi was a turning point in the course of the sepoy mutiny and Wilson's victory broke the backbone of the rebel strength. How relieved the Government of India felt at Wilson's victory was revealed in one of their special notifications which said:-

> Delhi, the focus of the treason and revolt for four months have harassed Hindustan, and the stronghold in which the Mutinous Army of Bengal has sought to concentrate its power, has been wrested from the rebels . . . Before a single soldier of the many thousands who are hastening from England to uphold the supremacy of the British Power has set foot on these shores, the Rebel Force . . . has been destroyed or scattered by an army collected within the limits of the North-Western Provinces and the Punjab alone. The work has been done before the support of those Battalions which have been collected in Bengal from the Forces of the Queen in China and in Her Majesty's Eastern Colonies could reach Major-General Wilson's Army . . . .[86]

And in their General Orders of October 8, 1857, the Government of India paid glowing tributes to the endurance and bravery of General Wilson and his troops.[87] The loyal services of the Sikh chiefs were acknowledged by the Indian Government very befittingly in a separate General Order, in which the most gratifying lines for the Sikh princes were:

> These true-hearted Chiefs, faithful to their engagements, have shown trust in the power, honour, and friendship of the British Government, and they will not repent it.[88]

Though Delhi, the stronghold of the mutineers, fell on September 20, the Sikhs remained in action until the flames of rebellion were completely extinguished. During the months following the end of the Delhi campaign, the Sikhs were not only employed to pacify the districts east of Delhi but also used to eliminate a fresh danger which threatened the peace of the Punjab. During the last week of the siege of

Delhi, the Punjab was rocked by the sudden uprising of the Mohammedans in the Googaira district near Multan. In fact, the kindred Mohammedan tribes of south-western Punjab and Sind had been disaffected since the outbreak of the sepoy mutiny,[89] and even the Mohammedan Nawab of Bahawalpur state was suspected of traitorous intentions. However, these Mohammedan tribes, unaware of what had actually happened in Delhi, were suddenly incited by the rumours that the victorious King of Delhi was personally coming to their country on a royal elephant for the purpose of meeting their leader, Ahmad Khan Kharral. Wild with excitement at these rumours about Islam's victory, the whole country between Lahore and Multan rose in rebellion. The rebel Kharral, Lungral, and Kathia tribes burnt down many police and civil stations. The Chief Commissioner assigned the duty of suppressing this rebellion to a force consisting of European and Sikh infantrymen.[90] On reaching the Kharral territory the punitive force attacked the rebels who had gathered in the bush of the barren tracts. Ahmad Khan and his sons were killed on September 20, but the rebellion was not quelled until the end of October. Throughout this expedition the Sikhs behaved gallantly. Especially conspicuous in this campaign was the bravery of the old Sikh soldiers. One of them, Sirdar Nihal Singh Chachi, who was also the orderly officer to the Chief Commissioner, was wounded in the leg during a melee.[91] Besides taking an active part in this campaign, the Sikhs also maintained law and order in the neighbouring districts of Jhang and Gujranwala where the Mohammedans were sympathetic with the Kharral

rebels. The newly raised Sikh levies overawed the Mohammedan population and peace in the neighbouring districts continued unbroken.[92]

In the districts to the east of Delhi, the Sikhs also rendered, before and after the fall of Delhi, notable services to the British. The Sikhs served, for example, under General Havelock during his advance toward Lucknow. The beleaguered garrison of Europeans in the Lucknow Residency was also faithfully served by the Sikhs. The deeds of the sixty Sikh horsemen, who were with the garrison, greatly contributed to the safety of the Europeans during the long siege (June 30 to September 25) and to their eventual rescue. Resisting threats and temptations from the besieging rebels this handful of gallant Sikhs made sorties, repaired breaches, counter-mined the enemy, gathered intelligence, kept watch at night and lent every help to sustain the besieged Europeans. However, during the eighty-seven days of the siege, every Sikh, like any other soul sheltered behind the Residency walls, also hoped for his own survival. And during the moments of extreme danger, some odd Sikh may have practised the maxim which says "discretion is the better part of valour," but there never was an instance of defection or betrayal by any Sikh.
During the siege many officers in the garrison recorded the deeds of these Sikh horsemen, but the following two accounts, found in Captain Birch's diary of July 26, narrated very bold, and amusing, exploits of the Sikhs:

> The vigilance of the enemy had at this time a little relaxed, though they still surrounded us in

> great numbers. We managed to make several sorties to examine their ground. I was in one in command of the Sikhs of my regiment . . . A laughable incident occurred on one of these sorties. One of my Sikhs, Alla Singh, a man of great muscular strength but small heart, hid himself when we started, and on our return dropped down from the wall amongst the party, hoping to escape notice; he was discovered, and his cowardice lost him his promotion.[93]

Describing the second episode Birch wrote in his diary:

> The enemy were undermining us from several directions, especially about the Sikh square . . . Our mines were worked so as to meet theirs . . . We were, however, much annoyed by the proximity of the houses, which made these mines possible . . . several sorties on a small scale were made to blow up these houses. As soon as one was cleared, Captain Fulton appeared on the scene accompanied by a muscular Sikh, Hookum Singh, who could carry a barrel of powder on his back. On several occasions I and my Sikhs formed his escort. The powder was laid near the columns and corners of the building . . . Captain Fulton was a super engineer . . . .[94]

The small garrison of Lucknow was finally relieved by European and Sikh infantry commanded by Generals Havelock and Outram. The approach of the relieving force stirred great excitement among the members of the beleaguered garrison. One of them, Lady Inglis, penned her feelings in her diary of September 23 like this:

> As I was sitting in a small room in our Court . . . the sound of distant guns struck my ear, and I shall never forget the thrilling sensation of hope and joy that filled my heart. Each boom seemed to say, 'We are coming to save you'.[95]

When the relieving force reached the gate of the Residency on September 25, the Sikhs and the Highlanders were in its vanguard. On that memorable day Captain Birch recorded these lines:

> . . . they (the enemy cavalry) were the first to leave the city; whilst the gunners and small-arm men still opposed the advance of the relieving force, and continued to fire upon us from all the batteries and loopholes in their position. The enthusiasm in the garrison was tremendous, and only equalled by that of our relievers. H. M.'s 78th Highlanders and the 14th Sikhs raced up to our gate, which was earthed up, and which we did not dare to open, as the enemy kept up their fire till the last moment . . . It was a sight never to be forgotten to see the hand-shaking and welcome between the relievers and the relieved. Hirsute Sikhs and brawny Highlanders were seen taking up children in their arms and kissing them. Inquiries after relations and friends were eager and anxious--alas! in too many instances to be met by the doleful tidings of death.[96]

At night the Sikhs celebrated their victory, but their noisy merry-making robbed others of their much-needed sleep. The pen of Lady Inglis, however, graciously condoned the behaviour of the Sikhs. About the affair she wrote in her diary:

> We found it difficult to sleep at night owing to the noise going on amongst the Sikhs in the square next to us--a sound discordant to my ears, for it seemed a time for solemn thankfulness, and not for noisy revelry; still, one could not grudge the poor men their enjoyment: they had suffered and fought well, long, and nobly, and merited recreation and rest.[97]

The relief force consisting of Sikhs and Highlanders sustained the garrison for fifty-one more days. On November 16, 1857, the Commander-in-Chief, Colin Campbell, after fighting his way up from Kanpur, brought a force of six thousand Europeans and Sikhs to the Lucknow Residency. The Residency was soon evacuated under General Campbell's orders and headquarters of the Commander-in-Chief were set up in the Alam Bagh suburb. Women, children, and the sick were sent off under escort to Allahabad. On November 24 General Havelock, under whose able command the first relieving force

had reached the Residency on September 25, died of diarrhoea. Leaving General Outram at Alam Bagh with four thousand Sikhs and Europeans the Commander-in-Chief returned to Kanpur and during the next three months mopped up the rebels in Oudh. By the end of February, 1858, only the city of Lucknow remained in rebel hands. With the defeated mutineers from Delhi and other parts of Oudh constantly pouring into Lucknow the rebel strength there had soared to 120,000 men. Therefore, General Campbell reinforced his army at Kanpur, where fresh bodies of Sikh infantrymen, horsemen, sappers and miners, all sent by the Punjab Government, as well as the Sikhs and Europeans from General Wilson's victorious army of Delhi, joined the Commander-in-Chief's camp. Finally General Campbell's army, twenty thousand strong, composed of Sikhs and Europeans, began its march into Oudh on February 29.[98]

Within two weeks of its departure from Kanpur, General Campbell's army was in complete control of the suburbs of Lucknow. On March 12, 1858, a Gurkha force of nearly ten thousand men, commanded personally by the Prime Minister of Nepal, Rana Jang Bahadur, also came down to take part in the final assault on Lucknow. On March 13 General Campbell's forces, supported on their left by the Gurkhas, began their advance into the unwalled city of twenty-mile circumference and after two days of heavy street fighting and constant shelling of enemy concentrations they liquidated rebel resistance in the city. A week after the capture of Lucknow the Commander-in-Chief submitted to the Governor-General a

lengthy report on the Lucknow operations. Every account of major action given by General Campbell in his report showed that the Sikhs had been indispensable for the capture of Lucknow.[99]

In other towns of Hindustan, too, the help, or just the presence, of the Sikh soldiers proved conducive to the continuance of British authority. In Benaras, the only place where a partial mutiny in a Sikh corps took place, the loyal part of the corps saved the lives of the European residents.[100] And the partial mutiny of this Sikh corps--the Irregular Ludhiana Regiment--occurred in Benaras not from any predisposition to disloyalty on the part of the Sikhs but from the fear that the European battery intended to open fire on them too, as it foolishly did fire on the sepoys on June 4 at a time when they were being disarmed quietly and without trouble. Unwise moves on the part of Colonels Ponsonby and Neill of the Madras Fusiliers, and their lack of experience with the Sikhs, precipitated the trouble in Benaras.[101] Yet the whole regiment of the Sikhs did not waver; its loyal part rendered good service and earned the thanks of the local Europeans. Again, in the neighbouring city of Allahabad, the Sikhs of the Ferozepur Regiment saved the fort for the British.[102] The heroic defence of Arrah, a small military post in the province of Bihar, by a handful of Sikhs with Mr. Boyle, an engineer of the railways, earned a special mention in the British Parliament.[103] The presence of the Sikhs at Mhow deterred the disaffected

sepoys from breaking into an open mutiny.[104] And how effectively the Sikhs liquidated during the year 1858 the last vestiges of the rebellion was illustrated by the following news reports which appeared in The Times:

> Sikhs and Sepoys.--
>
> A guerilla affair took place near Dehree, on the 18th ultimo (August 18, 1858). Captain Rattray picked eight men from the Sikh regiment, and despatched them with the instructions to bring in or kill Sungram Singh, an old blood-stained scoundrel, who had committed several murders and other crimes in the neighbourhood of Rotas. The Sikhs "bettered their instructions," for in addition to fetching Sungram Singh alive into Captain Rattray's tent, they killed his brother, sons, nephews, and grandsons, in all nine persons. The Sikhs had disguised themselves as mutinous sepoys, and thus got into the confidence of the whole gang. Another incident will illustrate the sort of service in which our troops are now engaged. Within a limited distance of Allahabad are a great number of mud forts, which afford shelter and trysting points for the rebels . . . a small party of our troops attacked one of these strongholds, . . . 700 of the enemy (1000) were slain . . . .[105]

Since the mutiny was not completely suppressed until the middle of 1859, the British kept the Sikh regiments in Hindustan for nearly a year after the fall of Lucknow on March 15, 1858. During that time the Sikhs were, however, not involved in any major campaign. In fact, with the exception of the campaign against the mutineers at Gwalior in central India, there were no major engagements after Lucknow. The Gwalior rebels were destroyed on June 15, 1858, by the European force of Sir Hugh Rose, while the Sikhs were busy pursuing the Oudh rebels in the foothills of the Himalayas. Purging the hills and villages from the rebels, therefore, became the chief duty of the Sikhs after taking

Lucknow. The Sikhs, of course, took these mopping up operations more as sport than serious business. All serious fighting for them was indeed over after Delhi and Lucknow.

Through the entire course of the sepoy mutiny, then, the Sikhs gave active support to the British. Their loyalty, eagerness to help, their martial character, and their experience in modern warfare made them the favourite soldiers of the British authorities and during the crisis they were recruited for the emergency increase in the Punjabi troops at a much higher proportion to their numbers in the total population of the province than the Hindus or Mohammedans. Of the fifteen million odd Punjabis, for example, only about six percent were Sikhs, yet in every ten companies raised to form a new battalion, four were reserved for the Sikhs, two for the Hindus (Hill Rajputs), and four for the Modammedans.[106] By the time the embers of rebellion completely died in 1859 the strength of the armed Punjabi troops had exceeded seventy thousand, and the Sikhs constituted one-third of the Punjabi troops.[107] In addition, the Sikh contingents of Patiala, Nabha, Jind, and Kapurthala states--almost seven thousand men--were also at the disposal of the British. This preferential recruitment of the Sikhs during the crisis paid off for the British, because the Sikhs bore the brunt of the toughest campaigns against the mutineers.

Not only did the Sikhs sacrifice their lives for the British but also gave them provisions and cash for the conduct of the war against the rebels. To provide money and

materials was, of course, not so much within the resources of the agriculturist Sikh laity as within the means of the Sikh chiefs and princes. To relieve the authorities of the shortage of funds the Rajas of Patiala and Nabha alone contributed seven and one-half lakhs of rupees (£75,000) as a loan to the Punjab Government, and in his report on the subject of cash contributions made by the Sikh princes of the Cis-Sutlej states, the Commissioner of Ambala, G. C. Barnes, felt obliged to add a marginal note which said, "More would have been furnished but it was not required."[108]

Finally, to speculate whether without the men, provisions, and money contributed by the Sikhs during the sepoy mutiny the British could pull through this crisis would be a difficult, almost unanswerable, proposition, because the course and outcome of a war cannot be predicted with accuracy and certainty. But it could be said from the foregoing analysis that during the crisis of 1857 the British sorely needed active help from the Sikhs and they received it to their utmost satisfaction.

CHAPTER 4

MOTIVES OF THE SIKHS FOR HELPING THE BRITISH DURING THE SEPOY REBELLION

During the sepoy rebellion the Sikhs threw in their lot with the British because they believed that British arms would easily overcome the mutineers. The history of their own relations with the British had convinced the Sikhs that native armies could not vanquish British forces, and so they anticipated the destruction of the sepoy rebels. The Sikhs also perceived that to withhold support from their rulers, whose victory they presupposed, would be detrimental to their interests. They feared that punishment would be inflicted on them if they did not respond favourably to British requests for help during the crisis. On the other hand, they calculated that the sepoy mutiny afforded them a unique opportunity to earn rewards by rendering services to the British as well as to curry favour with their conquerors who, they sensed, were indifferent, if not antagonistic, to the interests of their religion. In short, their belief in the superiority of British arms was the prime cause which led the Sikhs to play an opportunistic and pragmatic role during the rebellion of 1857-58.

The impression that British arms were invincible was deep rooted in Sikh minds. Since the beginning of their direct relations with the British in 1803 the Sikhs had

witnessed the capitulation before British arms of many a proud native army and the history of the Sikh-British relations between 1803 and 1857 was itself a recurring story of rewards and punishments from the British to friendly and hostile Sikhs. To understand why the Sikhs believed in the superiority of British arms and anticipated the defeat of the mutineers it is necessary to review Sikh-British relations during the first half of the nineteenth century.

The Sikh chiefs of the Cis-Sutlej states had learned to respect the power of British arms as early as 1803 when, as allies of their Maratha feudal lords, they were routed near Delhi by a British force commanded by General Lake. Impressed by this victory, three of the Sikh chiefs, Bhag Singh of Jind, Bhanga Singh of Thanesar, and Lal Singh of Kaithal, became friends of the British;[1] but many other petty Sikh chiefs continued their plundering raids into the districts across the Jamuna which were newly gained by the British. In 1805 the chiefs of Jind and Kaithal were warmly thanked by General Lake for timely assistance which enabled him to expel the Marathas from lands between Saharanpur and Delhi. At the same time the British General punished those Sikhs who had turned down British offers of friendship and sided with the Marathas. Gurdit Singh Ladwa, for example, lost Karnal and his other lands on both sides of the Jamuna. During the same year the Cis-Sutlej Sikhs witnessed the humiliation of their Maratha overlord, Jaswant Rao Holkar, who, after attempting an unsuccessful siege of Delhi, took

to flight before General Lake's force and sought refuge in the Cis-Sutlej states. Fearing the power of British arms the Sikh chiefs refused to treat with the Holkar. The Jind and Kaithal chiefs went even further--they actively assisted General Lake in his hot pursuit of the Maratha, who, after extorting some financial aid from Sahib Singh, the imbecile Raja of Patiala, quickly escaped into the Trans-Sutlej Punjab. Holkar's ignominious flight across the Sutlej alienated his last ally among the Cis-Sutlej chiefs. But though the Sikh chiefs wisely chose to repudiate their Maratha overlords, and even held out the olive branch to the British, they felt very nervous at the presence of Lake's victorious force in their country. However, they were assured by Lake that the British would never usurp their lands, nor would the chiefs be required to pay, as they customarily paid to the Marathas, tribute to the British.[2] In addition the chiefs of Jind and Kaithal received valuable estates as rewards for helping General Lake against the Marathas. The assurance of Lake, however, removed only the immediate apprehensions of the Sikh chiefs. They knew that beyond the mere word of the British General there was nothing by way of a formal and permanent settlement about their rights,[3] and so the presence of British arms in their country continued to worry their minds.

Jaswant Rao Holkar's flight before General Lake also brought home to the Sikhs of the Trans-Sutlej Punjab the power and character of British arms. The two leading Sikh

chiefs in the Trans-Sutlej Punjab, namely, Ranjit Singh (the future Maharaja) and Fateh Singh Ahluwalia, in whose territories Holkar and his ally Amir Khan Rohilla took refuge, at first prevaricated to comply with Lake's demand for Holkar's expulsion from Amritsar. But on hearing that Lake's pursuing army had reached the eastern bank of the Beas, the two chiefs quickly adopted a conciliatory attitude toward the British. It is said that Ranjit Singh, the more curious of the two chiefs, paid several incognito visits to Lake's camp.[4] Whether Ranjit visited the British camp in disguise, or whether his intelligence agents satisfied his curiosity about Lake's force, need not be debated here, because the more important point was that it was their fear of British arms which prompted Ranjit Singh and Fateh Singh to mediate between the British and the Maratha leader and, finally, sign a treaty of friendship with the British on January 1, 1806.[5]

Three years later the Sikhs on both sides of the Sutlej again saw their strongest leader, Ranjit Singh, fight shy of opposing British arms. Between 1806 and 1809 Ranjit Singh imposed his sovereignty over most of the Cis-Sutlej states. His aggression across the Sutlej was in no way a violation of the treaty of 1806, but before he embarked upon these conquests the Cis-Sutlej chiefs had made repeated requests to the British to protect them against Ranjit Singh's designs. At that time the British followed a policy of non-intervention in the affairs of these states

and were, on the other hand, trying to seek a defensive alliance with the ruler of Lahore to thwart the much rumoured Franco-Russian invasion of India.[6] The danger of a Franco-Russian invasion,however, passed by October, 1808, and the British policy towards the Cis-Sutlej states underwent a complete change. On December 12, Metcalfe, the British envoy who had tried for months to make Ranjit Singh agreeable to a defensive alliance, suddenly delivered to the Maharaja an ultimatum from the Governor-General, announcing that the British Government had taken the Cis-Sutlej chiefs under its protection. At first the Maharaja did not take the British envoy's announcement seriously, but by February, 1809, he was fully convinced that the British were earnest in their decision--a British force under Colonel David Ochterlony had advanced up to Ludhiana by then and on February 9, Ochterlony issued a precept or <u>Ittilaanama</u> to the Cis-Sutlej chiefs proclaiming that any act of aggression against them by the Maharaja of Lahore would be resisted with force.[7] Realizing the danger he was exposed to, Ranjit Singh swallowed his pride and surrendered every place in the Cis-Sutlej area that he had conquered since the signing of the treaty in 1806. After the withdrawal of the Maharaja's forces from the Cis-Sutlej area, the British made over to the rightful owners all the lands which the Maharaja had usurped. The treaty, which was formally signed between the Maharaja and the British at Amritsar on April 25, 1809, ended for good the Lahore ruler's ambition of extending his

sovereignty over the Cis-Sutlej states.[8] In spite of the treaty the Maharaja toyed for some time with the idea of making a common cause with the Marathas against the British, but neither the Marathas nor the ruler of Lahore ever found courage to challenge British arms.[9]

On May 3, 1809, the Cis-Sutlej chiefs finally got what they had long desired: a general proclamation issued by the British guaranteed protection to the chiefs against the aggressive designs of Ranjit Singh.[10] The terms of the proclamation left the chiefs with absolute powers in their own states but bound them to render help to the British in time of war and to levy no duty on British goods. The rapacious acts of the chiefs subsequently forced the British to issue on August 22, 1811, a second proclamation prohibiting all acts of violence among them. The new arrangement elevated the British from a protecting to a sovereign power over the Cis-Sutlej or Malwa chiefs, and thereafter on many occasions British arms restrained the stronger and greedier chiefs from making attempts to usurp the lands of the smaller and weaker states.[11]

The Gurkha War of 1814-15 gave the Sikhs further proof of the superiority of British arms over those of native rulers. On April 15, 1815, the Gurkhas were completely defeated by Ochterlony and they lost to the British all their forts and territories between the Sutlej and Jamuna rivers. As a special reward for his conspicuous services during the Gurkha War, the British enlarged the territory of Raja Karam Singh of Patiala.[12]

British-Sikh relations made a notable improvement between 1815 and the time of the Kabul campaign in 1838. During the Kabul campaign the Cis-Sutlej chiefs offered their help to the British but the latter politely declined this offer.

The tragic fate of the Kabul expedition brought to light the true colour of the Cis-Sutlej Sikhs and revealed to the British that these Sikhs were only fair-weather friends. As soon as the news of the Kabul tragedy reached the Punjab a wave of disaffection quickly spread among the Cis-Sutlej Sikhs; the Sikh rajas, who were always loud in their protestations of loyalty to their British protectors, at this time showed little sympathy with the British. Rather, they hoped that the strong, restraining hand of the British would be removed and they would be free like their brethren living north of the Sutlej. This mood proved short-lived. On receiving the first news of British victory in the second Kabul campaign in 1842, the Sikh rajas of the Cis-Sutlej hastened to avow their traditional friendship and loyalty for the British.

In the wake of the embarrassment caused by their behaviour during the Kabul campaigns the Cis-Sutlej chiefs were shocked and dismayed when the state of Kaithal was escheated by the British in 1843. Their sense of shock arose not from their lack of knowledge of the suzerain's right to resume the estate of an heirless chief (the petty state of Ferozepur had lapsed to the Government in 1835) but from their disillusionment about the sincerity of the

British toward the ruling families of friendly Sikh states which had rendered invaluable services since the very inception of British-Sikh relations. The Chiefs of Patiala, Jind, and Nabha, who, being the members of the Phulkian branch of chiefs, had representation on the Kaithal council, tried to stop the annexation of Kaithal by covertly inciting a rebellion. But the old story again repeated itself--the prompt show of military strength by the British quickly induced the Rajas of Patiala, Nabha, and Jind to draw back. To avoid suspicion and charges of disloyalty the Chief of Patiala even sent a thousand horse and two guns to help the British force stationed in Kaithal.[13]

The loyalty of the Cis-Sutlej states was again put to the test during the First Sikh War and once again the British found that only fear of British arms kept these states loyal and peaceable. When the Khalsa army crossed the Sutlej in December, 1845, the British readily discovered that the Sikh populace as well as the Sikh chiefs were disaffected.[14] Only a few chiefs, such as Patiala and Jind, who were also disaffected at heart, fulfilled their obligations toward the British during the Sutlej campaign. The Governor-General, Lord Hardinge, who personally took part in the campaign and had first-hand knowledge of acts of betrayal by the Cis-Sutlej chiefs, resolved, as soon as the campaign ended to punish the guilty ones.[15] Accordingly the Government took away the sovereign powers of many petty chiefs and relegated them to the status of jageerdars,

leaving their estates in their possession. But the territories of those chiefs who openly helped the enemy during the war were annexed. The Raja of Nabha forfeited one-fourth of his territory. In 1847, the British grouped together these newly annexed territories and created a new administrative unit, the district of Ludhiana.[16] On the other hand, those chiefs who had helped the British during the campaign, as the treaty of 1809 obligated all Cis-Sutlej chiefs to do, were generously rewarded. The Chiefs of Patiala and Faridkot, for example, received some of the estates lost by the Chiefs of Nabha and Ladwa. The Government of India also granted to the Maharaja of Patiala "a sunnud, or [certificate] expressing the high sense which the Government entertained of his loyalty."[17]

The victory of the British in the Sutlej campaign and the punishment inflicted by the British on the disloyal chiefs (only the states of Patiala, Jind, Faridkot, Chichrowli, Kalsia, and Buria were exempted from punishment) served as an object lesson to the Cis-Sutlej chiefs who thereafter never wavered in discharging their obligations toward the British.

The outcome of the Sutlej campaign also brought home to the Sikhs of the Trans-Sutlej Punjab the folly of challenging British arms--an act which the great Maharaja had shrewdly avoided in his time. The war showed them that they had underestimated the fighting calibre of the British soldiers and sepoys. Also, a defeated Sikh state was severely

punished for committing aggression on British territory. The chief aim of the Punjab Policy of Governor-General Hardinge at this time was, short of annexation, to weaken the Sikh state as much as possible.[18] This policy was mainly carried through. Under the terms of the Treaty of Lahore, concluded in March, 1846, the Sikhs abandoned the territory between the Beas and the Sutlej and for its failure to pay to the British a million and a half sterling as indemnity for the expenses of the war the Sikh kingdom lost Kashmir, which the British made over to Raja Gulab Singh on his payment of seventy-five lakhs of rupees (£750,000). The Sikh army forfeited all guns it had employed in the campaign and its strength was reduced to twenty-five battalions of infantry and twelve thousand cavalry.

The Sikh leaders were, by and large, gratified by the terms of the Lahore Treaty, because their kingdom had escaped complete annexation. At the request of these leaders and ministers of the Sikh state Hardinge placed a subsidiary British force in Lahore in order to keep the notorious turbulence of the Sikh army in check.[19] The request of the Sikh state for the stationing of a subsidiary British force in Lahore till the end of the year proved beyond doubt that the Sikh leaders had no illusions about the superiority of British arms.

Between the months of March and December of 1846 the Trans-Sutlej Sikhs received further proof of the futility of opposing British arms. During those months the British

reduced the power of such hostile *sirdars* as the Bedis of Una by confiscating their *jageers*; British guns brought about the surrender of the obstinate Sikh garrison of Kot Kangra;[20] and a British expeditionary force put down the revolt of the governor of Kashmir, Sheikh Imam-ud-din, who, through the encouragement of the Sikh Wazir Lal Singh, had hesitated in making over Kashmir to Gulab Singh. The Prime Minister of the Sikh kingdom, Lal Singh, was publicly tried on the charge of instigating insurrection in Kashmir and when found guilty of committing treachery he was imprisoned in British territory.[21] The Sikhs did not even raise a voice in protest at the incarceration of their prime minister; obviously they were all too anxious to avoid another collision with the British.

When at the end of the year 1846, the stipulated time for the British subsidiary force to stay in Lahore ran out, the Sikh government pleaded for further British protection. The British spelled out the conditions on which they would grant further protection and the Sikh state readily accepted the British stipulation of setting up a Council of Regency, consisting of eight *sirdars*, who would act under the guidance of a British resident. Thus in December, 1846, when the Second Treaty of Lahore was signed, the Sikhs had once again avowed that the British were the superior power and had willingly slipped under the virtual political control of the British.

The British Resident, Henry Lawrence, kept a firm hand on the affairs of the Council of Regency while his

young British officers "scoured the country, advising, exhorting and from time to time firmly and without any authority taking things into their own hands and administering."[22] Such a state of affairs naturally made the self-willed Sikh governors and army generals unhappy and restless. But unless they ran the risk of staging an open revolt, they had little chance of gaining freedom from British control. To risk another war with the British was against the better judgement of the Sikhs, and so they lay low. They feared that not only annexation of their kingdom would follow another defeat but the Sikh populace at large would also lose their lands and their privileged position in the Punjab. The political pride and the national sentiment of the Sikhs, in other words, gave way for some time at least to considerations of self-interest and material prosperity.[23]

However, when Mulraj, the governor of Multan, who had been asked by the Resident to submit to the Sikh Durbar an accurate statement of the yearly revenues collected by him, raised the standard of revolt against the Resident's authority, the Sikhs found the opportunity irresistible to throw out the British from their country. So they made common cause with the rebels of Multan. In the famous battles of Chillianwala and Gujarat, the two decisive battles of the Second Sikh War of 1848-49, the British were highly impressed with the bravery and capability of the Sikhs in using modern techniques of warfare. On the other hand, the fighting calibre of the British soldiers in these

battles made a lasting impression on the Sikhs. In particular the episode at Chillianwala, when the veterans of Her Majesty's 61st Regiment, commanded by Colin Campbell, bravely advanced towards the Sikh army, which had utterly defeated a portion of General Gough's force, became a legend among the Sikhs. On that occasion, a veteran of the 61st recalled later, Campbell's men advanced "under a tremendous cannonade, and without firing a shot, they marched as if on a parade ground and in stern silence till within fifty yards of the Sikh batteries, when with a shout which struck terror into the breasts of their enemy they charged irresistibly and took the guns."[24] A month after Chillianwala the British veterans completely crushed the Sikhs at Gujarat. After the conclusion of the Second Sikh War only the nostalgic memories of the glory of the Khalsa army, so clearly expressed in their words "Ranjit Singh is dead today!", remained alive in the minds of the Sikhs. Their impression of the superiority of British arms was final and complete.

Consequently when the sepoy army mutinied in 1857, the Sikhs did not doubt the ability of the British to suppress the mutineers. For a people such as the Sikhs, who from the inception of their relations with the British in 1803 had repeated experiences of the power and effectiveness of British arms, it would have been most unnatural to think otherwise. There were other reasons, too, why the Sikhs believed that the sepoys could not defeat the British. In the first place the Sikhs looked down upon the sepoys as a

less manly race[25] that could achieve little from a venture in which the mighty Khalsa had failed. Moreover, the Sikhs had never regarded the mercenary sepoy regiments as a factor that contributed towards their defeats in the two Sikh wars; it was to the European regiments alone that the Sikhs attributed their defeats and during the post-annexation years the bravery of the British veterans of the Sikh Wars remained vivid in their memory.[26] In fact, after the Sikh wars all warlike peoples of north-western India, including even the Afghans, began to feel awe from the discipline and fighting calibre of European regiments. Hence the Sikhs, and other Punjabis, treated the sepoy rising as a minor crisis for the British. Illustrating the confidence of the Punjabis in the ability of the British to crush the mutiny, Cooper, the Deputy Commissioner, recorded the thinking of Punjabi merchants, a class traditionally known as the political weathervane of the Punjab, in these words:

> The buniahs, too, and native contractors never lost their confidence in the power of Government, but always said 'Sahib it is but for a little while, and all these rebels will bite the dust,' (literally eat dirt), for the Company is almighty.[27]

Betraying the same confidence in British power the Sikh ruler of the Kapurthala state wrote to the Deputy Commissioner of Amritsar: "I am quite confident and so is my people about me, that the troubles will soon have an end. Delhi will be taken, the rebels will be punished, and peace will be established without much bloodshed or delay."[28] Even the leading Sikh chief, the Maharaja of Patiala, displayed no less faith

in the power of British arms to quell the mutiny and, believing that British reinforcements would soon arrive from Britain, the Maharaja personally consoled the European refugees sheltering in his territory by reassuring them that British authority would be re-established in the disturbed areas before long.[29]

This image of the inherent invincibility of British power was from first to last kept alive and untarnished by the Punjab Government. Though the presence in the Punjab of a large European force (nearly twelve thousand men) also served to remind the Sikh nobility and populace of the folly of starting intrigues against the British, it was in fact the alacrity and energy displayed during the crisis of 1857 by the functionaries of the Punjab administration that effectively prevented the Sikhs from changing their attitude.

At the top of the Punjab administration was John Lawrence, the Chief Commissioner, who proved himself a redoubtable representative of British authority over the Punjab. A man of outstanding ability in civil matters, John Lawrence was not found wanting in the qualities needed by a ruler to meet successfully a crisis such as the sepoy mutiny. The moment the telegram of May 12 brought to him at Rawalpindi the news of mutiny in Delhi, John Lawrence undertook heart and soul the task of tapping every resource in his province to help the army during the emergency. In addition, realising that leaving Delhi in rebel hands for long was politically harmful to British authority, Lawrence

tirelessly urged the army to expedite action against Delhi; through a flood of letters to the army chiefs he even planned strategy for the army. A civilian, John Lawrence showed unparalleled grasp of the psychology and character of the mutineers. Prodding the army chief to take swift action against the mutineers, John Lawrence wrote: "As mutineers they cannot fight. They will burn, destroy, and massacre, but not fight."[30] And events proved how right Lawrence was in his assessment of the character and psychology of the mutineers.

While working tirelessly to achieve his principal objective of reconquering Delhi, John Lawrence never let up his watchfulness over his own province. Even when the mutinies in the Punjab made his duties extremely onerous the Chief Commissioner never lost direct contact with his commissioners, district officers, and native chiefs and landlords. He personally read the district officers' reports on the local mutinies. His praise and reward for those officers who upheld British authority through energetic action were always given promptly and liberally: those officers who proved unenergetic and neglectful of their duty did not escape his censure. For example, on one occasion John Lawrence noted from the report of the district officer of Gurdaspur that the said officer had not gone personally in pursuit of the mutineers, Lawrence's personal secretary promptly conveyed to the Judicial Commissioner the Chief Commissioner's displeasure with the district officer concerned:

> The Chief Commissioner regrets that neither on this occasion nor in the pursuit of the 46th mutineers does Mr. Naesmyth appear to have gone out or done anything to contribute to the capture or destruction of the mutineers, and such activity on the part of that officer is by now means creditable. The Chief Commissioner cannot include him in the list of persons who he considers to have done well on this occasion.[31]

With the same unforgiving zeal John Lawrence also directed his fire on army officers if they proved remiss in taking action against the mutineers.[32] To keep his fingers on the political pulse of his province the Chief Commissioner always kept a few trusted _jageerdars_ and _sirdars_ close on hand for consultation and advice and he also advised the district officers to secure the help of Sikh _Jageerdars_ living in their districts.[33] As a shrewd ruler he fully exploited the desire of the natives to earn rewards for acts of loyalty and courage and he made sure that every native who helped the authorities in destroying the mutineers promptly received his due reward. On the subject of rewards John Lawrence's secretary was once obliged to make the following inquiry from the Judicial Commissioner:

> The Chief Commissioner further directs me request that you will inform him how the rewards were distributed, as he is anxious to see that no one who did well was passed over or under-rewarded. He trusts that the old Seikh mentioned by Lieutenant Dyas as having been wounded [in Gurdaspur district] with Mr. Hanna got his share.[34]

In short, during the crisis of 1857, John Lawrence assiduously kept himself informed about the feelings of the Punjabis and gave close attention to all important civil and military matters. Because of his untiring energy and

vigil John Lawrence was looked upon by the Sikhs and other Punjabis as an unrivalled colossus who epitomized the prestige and power of the British. The significance of Lawrence's hold over the Punjab was clear to the mutineers, too. As a man who constantly replenished the British forces before Delhi and who thwarted every scheme of the mutinous regiments stationed in his province, an area from where the Delhi rebels also hoped to get help through sepoy regiments,[35] John Lawrence was naturally both despised and dreaded by the rebels inside Delhi. So obsessed were the rebels of Delhi with the name of 'Jan La'rin' that on one occasion they believed they had captured this formidable enemy. But to their chagrin, the fair-skinned man they had caught turned out to be an innocent Kashmiri.[36] There was no doubt that it was due to the efforts of this amazing man, whom the mutineers reviled and cursed, that the Punjab became a real source of strength for the British during the sepoy mutiny. Acknowledging the unique services of John Lawrence to the British cause during the sepoy mutiny the Governor-General paid him the following tribute:

> To Sir John Lawrence's unceasing vigilance, and to his energetic and judicious employment of the trustworthy forces at his disposal, it is due that Major-General Wilson's Army has not been harassed or threatened on the side of the Punjab, and that the authority of the Government in the Punjab has been sustained and generally respected.[37]

The energy and alertness shown by the Chief Commissioner during the crisis of 1857 inspired his subordinates and, by and large, they all rose to the occasion. Robert

Montgomery who, as Judicial Commissioner, was next to the Chief Commissioner in the administrative hierarchy, topped them all in displaying foresight, calmness and nerve. It was indeed at the initiative of Montgomery that within two days of the receipt of the telegram from Ambala all forts and arsenals in the Punjab were made secure by putting European soldiers in them and it was in compliance with his timely instructions that the district officers were able to save their civil stations and treasuries from the mutinous sepoys. Montgomery's foresight also led him to order the immediate disarming of some 3,500 sepoys stationed near Lahore. This disarming of sepoys, carried out on May 13, 1857, saved the seat of the provincial government from falling into the hands of disaffected Hindustani regiments and also served as an opportune reminder to the Sikhs of the Manjha that the power of British arms had in no way diminished since Chillianwala and Gujarat.[38]

Montgomery's brilliant maneuver against the sepoys at Lahore was the precursor of many other spectacles of its kind which further strengthened the belief of the Sikhs in the superiority of the British arms. Practically in all districts where the Sikhs were in an appreciable strength the people watched the rout or destruction of Hindustani mutineers by forces led almost in all cases by the divisional commissioners and district officers, or by such first rate commanders of the police battalions and the Punjab Irregular Force as Chamberlain, Nicholson, Coke,

Rothney, Daly, Wilde, Taylor and Vaughan. The deeds of civil officers like Barnes and Forsyth in Ambala, Ricketts in Ludhiana, Lake and Farrington in Jullundur, Marsden in Ferozepur, Cooper in Amritsar, Roberts, Egerton, and Captain Lawrence in Lahore, Monckton and Elliott in Sialkot, Abbott and Parke in Hoshiarpur, and Clarke and Cripps in Gujranwala need not be retold beyond saying that the courage and resourcefulness these officers showed in suppressing local mutinies tremendously enhanced the prestige of the British among the Sikh masses. For example, an old colonel of the disbanded Sikh army, who was amazed at the quick and smooth disarming of the 35th Light Infantry and 33rd Native Infantry Regiments by Nicholson and the district officer of Jullundur, Farrington, on June 21, 1857, praised Farrington and Nicholson by telling them after witnessing the spectacle, "You have today drawn the fangs of 1500 snakes; truly your ikbal (good fortune) is great."[39] Again, the effect on the Sikhs of Nicholson's victory over the Sialkot mutineers on July 16, 1857, was to confirm the conviction of the Sikhs that in the crisis they had indeed chosen to be on the side of the stronger and winning party.[40] The complete destruction by Cooper, the district officer of Amritsar, of the sepoys of 26th Native Infantry, who had escaped from Lahore on July 30, 1857, also produced a similar effect on the Sikhs. Impressed with Cooper's successful action Raja Randhir Singh, the Sikh ruler of Kapurthala state, wrote to Cooper: "I consider it a fit occasion to

drop a line or two in the way of congratulating you for the triumphant return you have made of the disarmed mutinous sepoys of 26th N. I. . . . You have certainly made a very good impression on the mind of all disaffected troops in the Punjab."[41]

Through their tight internal security the district officers also prevented local sources of sedition from infecting the minds of the Sikh masses. The district officers moved fast to punish individuals who were suspected of treasonable intents or were disposed toward evil. A misguided Sikh, Mohar Singh by name, who, believing in the word of the Hindustani sepoys stationed in his home town of Ropar, had used seditious language in the bazaar, was executed within two hours of his crime.[42] In Amritsar a Mohammedan watchman, some bairagi faqirs (mendicants), and one Bhai Maharaj Singh were interned as political suspects and a Brahmin named Radha Kishan was hanged in the presence of the Moveable Column for attempting to spread sedition among the men of that corps.[43] Two natives of Gurdaspur District were severely punished for using treasonable language and their fate effectively deterred others from using indiscreet language against the Government.[44] A Sikh officer of the mounted police, named Ranjit Singh, was hanged in Sialkot on charges of treating lightly the district officer's orders to obtain secretly information about the local mutineers.[45] A butcher of the same city also paid with his life for using threatening language to a European sergeant and after his execution no native of the town insulted Europeans.[46]

The district officer of Ferozepur seized a faqir called Sham Das after a brief encounter with the latter's followers and executed him for his treasonable activities.[47] Besides taking quick and decisive action against individuals who were suspected of treason or were known to be the ill-wishers of the Government, the district officers kept thorough surveillance of the native press and the old sirdars of the Sikh Durbar; they also censored mail, forbade the sale of sulphur, raised loans for the Government, and secured roads, bridges, and treasuries. In brief, the vigour and alacrity shown by the district officers of the Punjab during the sepoy mutiny proved highly conducive in preserving British authority in the province and in keeping the minds of the Sikhs free from taint of disloyalty. Praising the excellent work done by the officers of the Punjab administration during the crisis of 1857 John Lawrence later said, "No functionary has ever been better served, or owes more to his officers."[48]

With developments during the mutiny lending strong support to their belief in the inherent invincibility of British arms the Sikhs could not, and they did not, dare to let any suspicion of disloyalty and treason hang over them. In fact, in contrast to political developments in 1846 or 1849 the Sikhs on both sides of the Sutlej were determined to avoid playing a reckless role or taking a wrong step during the crisis. In keeping with their tradition, the Sikh chiefs of the Cis-Sutlej states at once saw that the

sepoy mutiny would afford them another opportunity to prove their fidelity toward the East India Company, under whose protection they had not only escaped extinction from the aggression of the Marathas and the machinations of the ambitious Ranjit Singh but had also earned rich rewards for their services and loyalty to their over lord. On the other hand, the Sikhs of the Trans-Sutlej districts regarded the sepoy rising as a God-sent occasion to regain some of their lost social prestige, to recover their forfeited jageers, and to win rewards and employment by giving proof of their loyalty to their conquerors, who had on the whole treated them gallantly and had, after all, not reduced them to the humiliating status of landless peasantry after totally crushing their power at Chillianwala and Gujarat. And the nature and pattern of response given by the Sikhs to the British call for help showed beyond doubt that the Sikhs were only too eager to curry favour with their masters.

When the British approached the Sikh rulers of the Cis-Sutlej states for help during the crisis of 1857, these chiefs had two courses open to them: either to fulfil their obligation of faithfully rendering help to the British or to go back on the agreement which bound them to give aid to the British during a war or an emergency. But since they believed that the British would surely crush the mutineers they adopted the first course, which would also bring them, they believed, the concomitant advantage of deserving further rewards and favours from their suzerain. In other

words, the Sikh chiefs were convinced that if they were disloyal to the British they would be following the road to self-destruction; breach of faith with their invincible suzerain, they believed, would inevitably make them the targets of British retribution. Their quick response to the British call for help, therefore, showed that they did not wish to be accused of any breach of faith. The Patiala ruler's instantaneous decision to send troops to Ambala when required to do so by the district officer of Ambala showed that he simply followed the rules of prudence to avoid suspicion of disloyalty. How careful he was in proving himself above suspicion of infidelity was confirmed by his alacrity in forwarding to the Commissioner of Ambala Division a letter from the King of Delhi inciting him to rise against the British.[49] The same prudent motives of the Jind Raja were plain and clear when, on hearing the news of the outbreak of mutiny in Delhi, he instantly took up arms against the rebels and on his own initiative despatched messengers to the British authorities at Ambala for advice on further action,[50] and the same considerations of common sense and prudence were unquestionably evinced by the ready and favourable response of the smaller Sikh chiefs of Nabha and Faridkot. The loyal conduct of the Sikh <u>jageerdars</u> of the Cis-Sutlej area also left little doubt as to their self-interested motives. It would be hard to draw any other inference about the motives of these <u>jageerdars</u>, who had lost many of their rights since the Sutlej campaign of 1846, if one takes into

account the strong sense of gratification felt by those *jageerdars* who were approached by the British for help and an equally strong sense of frustration and disappointment expressed by those who were not asked to render any services to the British.[51]

In short, it was the unhesitating and prompt proof of loyalty on the part of the Cis-Sutlej Sikh rajas and *jageerdars* which clearly showed that their instinct for self-preservation and hope for material gains in the future were their prime considerations for coming out strongly on the side of the British during the sepoy mutiny. Their own avowals further demonstrated that such were indeed their primary motives for helping the British. For example, the ruler of Patiala, admitting that self-interest was the reason why he supported the British against the mutineers, once pointedly remarked that since the days of the Durrani kings his house had always adhered to the policy of giving its loyalty to the overlord.[52] The Raja of Jind also gave similar reasons for his loyalty to the British, recalling that the interests of his house had been well served through its vassalage to the British.[53]

The Trans-Sutlej Sikhs, who lost their kingdom to the British in 1849, looked upon the sepoy rising as an opportune occasion to retrieve as much as possible of their social and economic status which had been gradually sinking lower and lower after the annexation of the Punjab. During the eight years between annexation and the outbreak of the

sepoy mutiny the *jageers* of many leading Jat Sikh families were curtailed by the Government; some Sikh families had lost their lands altogether; and employment in public offices was generally denied them. Public offices during those eight post-annexation years were monopolized by Hindustanis. The preference given to Hindustanis in the Punjab's civil and revenue departments was irksome to some British officials. Montgomery, the Judicial Commissioner, used to express his disgust with the Hindustanis' preponderance in the Punjab civil service by describing it as "the Hindustani raj."[54] British patronage of the Hindustanis hurt the feelings of the Sikhs most of all and was indeed the root cause of the Sikh's hatred for the Hindustanis, because the Sikhs strongly felt that in their own land, of which they were the rulers only eight years ago, they had a much better claim to public offices than the Poorbeahs 'the down Easters.'[55] But during the pre-mutiny years there was no way for the Sikhs to challenge or break the Poorbeahs' hold over government jobs, especially when the British appeared indifferent toward the Sikhs' interests.

Yet, the Sikhs also realized that at worst the attitude of the government toward them was only one of indifference and by no means of hostility or cruelty. And they were also gratefully aware that their conquerors did not push the process of curtailment of their *jageers* to extremes. For this they could well be thankful to the magnanimity and far-sightedness of Henry Lawrence, the Chairman of the Board

of Administration, 1849-52. But even when Henry was removed from the Punjab after the quarrel with his younger brother, John, on the very issue of the jageers of the sirdars, the policy of revoking the jageers was, ironically enough, not pursued by John with the earlier zest and conviction which had caused the rupture in his relations with his brother.[56] Years later John Lawrence himself conceded that his administration in the Punjab had not ill treated the jageerdars and to support his assertion he cited the fact that two-fifths of the Punjab's land revenue still belonged to the jageerdars.[57]

There were other factors, too, that soothed the feelings of despair and resentment felt by the Sikhs toward the British: their employment in the Punjab Police and the Punjab Irregular Frontier Force, however limited in terms of their proportion of the population, and the retention and amalgamation into the Punjabi force of a few old Sikh regiments which had not taken up arms against the British in the war of 1848-49, were encouraging signs for the Sikhs to hope for a more considerate and generous treatment from the British some day. To the good fortune of the Sikhs the time for realizing these hopes came unexpectedly soon with the outbreak of mutiny in 1857 and they perceived, almost instinctively, that by showing their loyalty to their invincible masters they would succeed in changing the British attitude of indifference toward their interests into an attitude of benevolence.

The eagerness of the Sikhs to help the British, which became unequivocally clear to the Judicial Commissioner when he asked the _jaqeerdars_ and _sirdars_ for help during the first week of the mutiny,[58] was the first positive proof that the Sikhs badly wanted to get into the good books of their British rulers. The extraordinary zeal and devotion with which the British were actually helped by the Sikhs, particularly by those surviving Sikh families who had been the arch enemies of the British during the two Sikh wars and who had consequently suffered heavy losses socially and economically, offered, of course, the most conclusive proof that sheer prudence and self-interest were the motives for the loyal behaviour of the Sikhs during the uprising of 1857. Indeed this behaviour pattern of the Sikhs--the more a Sikh family had suffered after annexation the greater its zeal and desire to prove its loyalty to the British--was the most revealing of the Sikhs' motives of self-interest, of rewards, and at least, of their instinctive desire to save themselves from further economic ruination by giving tangible proof of their loyalty to the British. Hence, for instance, the unswervingly loyal conduct of the Attari and Sindhanwala families of Amritsar district[59]--the two families which had led the campaigns of 1846 and 1849 against the British; of the Man family, whose representative, Sirdar Sardul Singh, once a general of Ranjit Singh, personally served the British during the mutiny;[60] of the China family, whose two leaders, Jai Singh

and Hardit Singh, having lost their jageers for joining the revolt in 1848-49, bravely served under the British in 1857 as resaldar and jemadar (officer ranks in the native cavalry) respectively;[61] and of the Adalti family of Amritsar, whose headman, named Man Singh, once a high officer of the old Sikh army, earned a name for himself for his distinguished services to the British as a resaldar during the sepoy mutiny.[62] The behaviour of the leading Sikhs of Gurdaspur district during the mutiny was parallel to that of the Amritsar Sikhs. The Randhawa family of Lel, whose men held high ranks in Ranjit Singh's army, wholeheartedly supported the British in 1857.[63] Sirdar Lal Singh of Talwandi, a prominent officer of the disbanded Sikh army, furnished horsemen and sent his two sons with them for service against the mutineers in Hindustan.[64] And Bawa Amar Singh of Batala, who was a colonel in the Sikh army, served the Government faithfully as a resaldar.[65] In other districts and areas of the Trans-Sutlej Punjab, too, the loyal and helpful behaviour of the Sikh leaders, such as Raja Tej Singh in the Lahore district, Jawahir Singh in the Jammu Hills, the chief of Kapurthala state, and numerous smaller sirdars[66] lent further support to the view that the Sikhs gave their political support and active help to the British during the sepoy crisis of 1857 from motives of rewards and recognition.

Besides this conclusion about the motives of the Trans-Sutlej Sikhs from their common pattern of loyal

behaviour during the sepoy mutiny, a penetrating analysis of their motives made at the time by the Deputy Commissioner of Amritsar bore out the same conclusion in the following terms:

> All old rebels of the Sikh War, who were under a sort of official and social ban, seized the opportunity of regaining their character; and naturally nourishing a hope that their loyalty might evoke substantial recognition, came forward with offers of service. No man hopes to regain confiscated land from a State he thinks tottering to its fall. Many of the most dangerous thus, as it were, drew their own teeth for danger; and were absolutely made of capital use.[67]

Indeed, even those Sikh rebels who were banished from the Punjab after annexation seized the opportunity to rehabilitate themselves in the eyes of the British authorities. For instance, Sirdar Gulab Singh, who along with two other Attari _sirdars_, namely, Chatar Singh and Sher Singh, was removed to Bengal after the Second Sikh War, served during the mutiny as a captain in the British forces,[68] and Raja Surat Singh of the Majithia family, who lived under surveillance at Benaras, rendered valuable services to the British by saving the lives of European residents of Benaras through his personal influence over the Sikh regiment stationed there and later on by personally taking the field against the rebels in Hindustan.[69]

No one, of course, could know the intentions and motives of the Sikhs better than the remnants of the old Sikh nobility themselves. As stated earlier, a few of these old _sirdars_ enjoyed the Chief Commissioner's confidence. These trusted advisers of John Lawrence felt that

the Sikhs could become troublesome to the Government if employment in the army was denied to them. John Lawrence, suspicious as ever of the political ambitions of the Sikhs, was initially hesistant to enlist the Sikhs for the emergency increase of the Punjabi force.[70] Finding himself in a quandary over the question of recruiting the Sikhs, John Lawrence turned to his Sikh advisers for advice. One of them, Nihal Singh Chachi, told the Chief Commissioner, "You had better employ them, or they may go against you," and so depending upon Nihal Singh Chachi's foresight the Chief Commissioner wrote to each sirdar who had suffered in the war of 1848 and had him committed, by giving him the hope of removing an old blot against his character, to the British side.[71]

The response of the Sikhs to the recruitment campaign showed that the Sikh masses were as eager to serve the British as the Sikh sirdars and jageerdars. Describing the extensive recruitment of the Sikh peasantry in the districts of Jullundur, Hoshiarpur, Ludhiana, Gurdaspur, and Amritsar, the Commissioner of Jullundur Division, who was asked to raise two regiments and extra police battalions, later wrote: "So anxious were the Sikhs and Punjabees of the neighbourhood for service that the ranks of both regiments would have been filled in a month if I had not limited the number to be taken from each locality."[72] In fact the Punjab authorities were convinced that employment motives stirred the zeal of the Sikhs to seek service in the army.[73]

Furthermore, the opportunity for employment afforded by the emergency expansion of the Punjab Irregular Force and the Punjab Police had a strong influence in confirming the Sikh regiments in their loyalty toward the British. An episode that occurred at Jhelum during the mutiny bore out this fact. The Sikh police battalion stationed there once fell under suspicion of being disaffected, because a Sikh informed the authorities that the men of this battalion had secretly received seditious letters from Raja Sher Singh, their old general, who lived under surveillance in Calcutta. The Commissioner of Jhelum Division, Thornton, personally investigated the matter and found not only that the complaint against the Sikh police battalion was baseless but that the whole battalion was in excellent shape and that its men were particularly happy because "the four augmentation companies just allowed had given promotion and allowed the men to bring many of their near relatives into service."[74]

Expectation of rewards was also a strong motive of the Sikh masses for helping the district officers in the apprehension or destruction of the mutineers. The reports of the district officers revealed that the Sikh peasants were very desirous of taking full advantage of the Punjab Government's offers of rewards for capturing or killing the mutineers. In fact, at some places the Sikh villagers hounded the escaped sepoys so fanatically and executed and apprehended mutineers so cold-bloodedly that their motives were unmistakably evident from their behaviour. The destruction in Amritsar district of the sepoys of the 26th

Native Infantry was a case in point. The Sikh villagers became, at the suggestion of their district officer, most willing executioners of the arrested sepoys. After filling the pit with nearly three hundred corpses they told the district officer that the punishment of the sepoys was "righteous, but incomplete; because the magistrate did not hurl headlong into the chasm, the rabble of men, women, and children, who had fled miserably with the mutineers."[75] Such display of inhumanity, degradation of mind, and servile flattery on the part of the Sikhs could only arise from their extreme desire to please, and to win favours and rewards from, their British masters. That such were indeed the motives of the Sikh villagers was also the belief of the district officer in question.[76] The rewards for such acts of servility and blind loyalty on the part of the Sikhs were given to them, of course, very promptly, so much so that the Chief Commissioner, as mentioned earlier, took a personal interest in ensuring that the individuals concerned were handsomely rewarded without unnecessary delay. Thus, through its policy of disbursing rewards with promptitude the Punjab administration fully exploited during the sepoy mutiny the desire of the Sikh peasantry to earn rewards.

Although the Sikhs, high and low, living on both sides of the Sutlej, helped the British during the sepoy mutiny primarily to avoid punishment and win employment and rewards, a number of secondary motives could also be imputed to the Sikh regiments and soldiers for their fidelity with the British. The regularity with which the soldiers' pay

was disbursed in the British service greatly helped to reinforce the loyal sentiments of the cash-hungry Sikh peasants who found employment in the army. The British military system, which clearly defined the conditions of service and required a faithful payment of soldiers' pay, was naturally more favourable to the soldiers than the former Sikh government's system of haphazard disbursement of servicemen's pay--a system in which the audit department was practically non-existent. More favourable conditions of service under the British were consequently bound to enhance the Sikh servicemen's feelings of loyalty and gratitude to their British employers, and this would not be at all difficult to understand when it is remembered that during the days of the Sikh kingdom the irregularity in the disbursement of soldiers' pay had often induced the Sikh regiments to acts of insubordination and even open mutiny.[77]

The personal courage and high calibre of British army officers also kept the Sikh regiments staunch during the sepoy mutiny. As noted before, the Punjab Irregular Force and the Punjab Police were officered by men who were judiciously chosen at the time of annexation in 1849 by the two Lawrence brothers, Henry and John. These men were particularly notable for their bravery and dash--qualities which simple and brave people such as the Jat Sikhs regarded as godly virtues. Men like Nicholson and Hodson, whose supberb physiques and fearlessness in the face of enemy were cliches among the Sikhs, commanded unqualified

personal loyalty from their regimental Sikhs, who always took pride in following these brave officers to the battlefield and wept like children when the two commanders were felled by enemy's fire.[78] The influence that especially Nicholson had gained over the minds of the warlike Sikhs was remarkably testified by a ballad which the Punjabi bards used to sing in later years in memory of Nicholson's heroic death during the assault of Delhi:

> We ceaseless pray the warrior's God, with all a soldier's love,
> That he would make brave Nicholson, a prince in heaven above.
> Oh! Godlike chieftain Nicholson our children lisp thy name,
> Thou'lt not forget the Khalsa's prayers their babies prate thy name.[79]

The spirit of comradeship which existed between the Sikh soldiers and their European counterparts was yet another reason which inspired the Sikhs to remain faithful to the British. A number of reasons explained this fellowship between the Sikh and European soldiers. Respect for each other's soldierly qualities, so well discovered by both sides during the two Sikh wars, had helped develop bonds of freindship between them. Absence of treachery in the character of the Jat Sikhs,[80] unlike the character of the Afghans, made Europeans sympathetically inclined toward the Sikh veterans of the two wars of 1846 and 1849, which in turn evoked from the Sikhs gratitude and faithfulness for their European comrades. Moreover, because of the tenets of their faith and their tribal customs, which had their

roots more in the pastoral culture of their Scythian ancestors than in the Hindu orthodoxy and caste system, the Jat Sikhs were much less inhibited than the Hindu and Moslem sepoys in the matters of sharing food and drink with the Christians and Europeans, or even in accepting the Enfield cartridge.[81] So there was a great deal of fraternization between the European and Sikh soldiers. The grog in particular promoted a spirit of fellowship[82] and the jolly nature of the Sikhs reinforced their friendly relations with their European comrades.[83] In short, the habits and character of a Jat Sikh and a Highlander were in some ways so much alike as to induce them to comradely behaviour during campaigns.

The hatred of the Sikhs for the imperial Mughal dynasty of Delhi, whose emperors persecuted their religious preceptors a century and a half ago, was suggested in many contemporary writings on the sepoy mutiny,[84] as well as in some recent histories of the mutiny of 1857,[85] as one of the leading motives of the Sikhs for helping the British against the rebels in Delhi. Whereas no one could doubt that the Sikhs had, for historical reasons, little sympathy with the Mughal dynasty, of which the King of Delhi was a descendant, it would be an error to regard this historical animosity as one of the principal motives of the Sikhs in serving the British during the crisis of 1857. The real motives of the Sikhs for remaining loyal to the British must be judged from their behaviour pattern against the background of the total and complex nature of the sepoy mutiny, of which Delhi was

only one phase, though an important one. There were mutinies, in addition to the rebellion in Delhi, in the Punjab and in Hindustan, and as was shown earlier the strongest and most general reason for the loyal behaviour of the Sikhs became clearly apparent through their extreme eagerness to avoid punishment and to win rewards from their British masters. In other words, considerations of self-interest were uppermost in the minds of the Sikhs and their historic hatred for the Mughals would appear, in the face of the volume of evidence showing self-interest to be their primary motive, at best to be a minor subsidiary reason and at worst a rationalization of their own choice to side with the British who had overthrown their kingdom only eight years ago. Had the Sikhs at any time during the siege of Delhi been convinced that their interests could be best served by joining the rebels inside the city of Delhi, they would have in all probability gone over to the rebel side, like some Sikh mutineers from Benaras and the Sikh escapees from Agra prison, who saw little hope of mercy and pardon from the British, and who did join the rebels of Delhi and become an integral part of the army of the King of Delhi.

A better subsidiary and limited motive of the Sikhs than their historic enmity with the Mughal dynasty was rooted in their lust for plundering the city of Delhi, not as much because it was the imperial city of the hated Mughals but simply for the love of plundering its fabulous riches. In fact it was not only the Sikh soldiers who

hoped to plunder Delhi after the assault. Practically all other combatants in the Field Force--Europeans, Pathans, and Gurkhas--coveted Delhi's wealth. British commanders of the Field Force were fully aware of this fact, but the lust for plunder among men, especially among the Sikhs, appeared so uncontrollable that the commanders of the force were obliged, from considerations of expediency, not to enforce strict discipline to prevent acts of looting during the assault.[86] At other places in Hindustan, too, the British sometimes found it expedient to connive at or even encourage plundering of the rebels by the Sikhs.[87]

With that, one final question in our search for the motives of the Sikhs for proving loyal to the British during the sepoy mutiny remains to be investigated. Did the Sikhs commit themselves to the side of the British with the specific design of rearming themselves to fight the British at some future suitable time? A celebrated historian of the sepoy mutiny, John William Kaye, believed that such indeed were the motives and designs of the Sikhs for joining the British forces during the crisis of 1857.[88] Kaye, however, did not reveal the sources on which he founded his belief, and it would appear that there was little actual evidence to substantiate Kaye's assertion.

If the Sikhs had some kind of treacherous plan, as was assumed by Kaye, then the most suitable time for them to rise against the British was during the months of July and August, 1857, when skepticism about the ability of the

British to reconquer Delhi was fast growing among the Punjabis, notably among the Punjabi Mohammedans. During those last two months of the siege of Delhi, the Sikhs were aware that the struggle for Delhi was becoming more serious by the day, but unlike the Punjabi Mohammedans, whose disaffection finally culminated in the Googaira rising during the last week of the siege of Delhi, the Sikhs were not completely convinced that the British star of fortune had dipped. This did not mean, however, that the seemingly unending siege of Delhi, with no evidence of European reinforcements reaching from England, left the Sikhs totally unaffected. However, the effect which the long, protracted siege of Delhi produced on them was simply one of deep concern about their own self-interest. Although their minds refused to believe that the British would lose the struggle, it was, nevertheless, only natural for them to think of that eventuality too--more correctly perhaps, to think of their own fate in the event of the defeat of the British. The Sikhs had cast their lot with the British hoping that such a move would pay them best, and so the thought that their calculation could be wrong made them uneasy and rumours which carried the implication of British downfall made their minds restless with the possibility of their having to struggle for survival and political supremacy in the Punjab in the manner their ancestors did a century before.

Therefore, after the middle of July, when the siege of Delhi had gone on for about a month and a half, the Sikhs began to watch for every sign which could give some indication how the struggle would end, or which would reveal the relative weakness or strength of the British. The proposed evacuation of the Peshawar Valley, for example, deeply worried the Sikhs. A dignitary of the old Sikh government, while discussing the proposed evacuation of Peshawar with the Deputy Commissioner of Amritsar, took up in his hands the skirt of his robe and told that officer, "If Peshawar goes the whole Punjab will be rolled up in rebellion like this."[89] The implication of the Sikh's remark was clearly this: the incapacity of the British to hold Peshawar would be taken by the Sikhs as a sure sign of British weakness and the Sikhs would be emboldened to rise, not so much to destroy British rule, though British interests would no doubt be hurt, as to make sure that their homeland was again secure against the inroads of the Afghan marauders. Another old Sikh said to the same officer around mid-July that a year from then the Sikhs would also be fighting against the British.[90] Doubtlessly the suggestion in the Sikh's satement was that if the Delhi campaign dragged on for long the Sikhs would also then rebel. Fearing that the end of the struggle for Delhi was nowhere near, even the Sikh princes had started to show during July signs of concern about the safety of their own territories. During that month the Maharaja of Patiala went to see the

Commissioner of Ambala Division with the specific purpose of asking that officer's frank opinion about the ability of the British to overcome the crisis. "The Commissioner affected to think, drew a piece of paper towards him, and, after show of elaborate calculation, appraised the Maharaja that if the State could hold out until the 30th of August all was safe; and it would be stronger than ever. The Maharaja departed highly pleased, and redoubled his efforts."[91]

All in all, then, after about the middle of July, 1857, the thinking of the Sikhs was that they would not prove false to the British, but if the British proved incapable of saving their own boat from sinking then they would perforce try to shape their own destiny in the political chaos that every class in the Punjab knew would inevitably ensue if the British failed to keep the country together. The Punjab Government itself subscribed to this view and believed that of all the Punjabis the Sikhs would have been the last to rise, and that too only if the prospects of British victory at Delhi had become hopeless.[92] Such a critical stage, however, was never reached; throughout the crisis the British betrayed no signs of panic or desperation. The recapture of Delhi by the middle of September finally set at rest the minds of the Sikhs which had been somewhat restless since mid July.

The anxiety of the Sikhs to protect their own interests and their avowed intention of breaking off their connection with the British if the power of the latter

appeared to fade away during the crisis could not be construed as a premeditated or deliberate plan on the part of the Sikhs to betray their masters. In a land where national pride and loyalty were unknown, and where religion and class interests alone united and divided its people, such considerations in the minds of the Sikhs under those circumstances were perfectly natural and honest. Even the Punjab authorities, who found little evidence of any treacherous design on the part of the Sikhs, did not deem it fair to blame them for thinking as they did when the siege of Delhi began to drag.[93] Therefore, if Kaye interpreted this intention of the Sikhs to forsake the British if the latter proved weak as a sinister plan on their part to rise against the British at some future time, then he cetainly erred in judging the motives of the Sikhs for helping the British during the crisis of 1857.

One other episode could have misled Kaye into misunderstanding the motives of the Sikhs. After the termination of the campaign in Oudh the loyalty of the Sikh troops serving in Hindustan was somewhat affected through the intrigues of the agents of Rani Jindan, who was then living as a political fugitive in Nepal. But this disturbing dedevelopment occurred at least nine months after the elimination of the insurgents in Oudh; therefore, it really had little bearing on the question of the motives of the Sikhs for helping the British during the mutiny. Furthermore, British intelligence found little evidence to show that the

secret communications between Rani Jindan and the Sikh soldiers stationed in Hindustan ever formed any definite design against the British.[94] The attempts of Rani Jindan to undermine the loyalty of the Sikh troops, nevertheless, caused the British anxiety and they began to look upon the feelings of elation of the Sikhs at their military achievements during the mutiny as signs of danger. The British Government, feeling that the proximity of Oudh to Nepal made Rani Jindan's seditious message easier to reach the Sikh troops, hastened to advise the Government of India to break up as quickly as possible the concentration of Sikh soldiery in Hindustan.[95] The Sikh troops were then sent back to the Punjab. The fact that the dispersal of the Sikh soldiery from Oudh and Hindustan took place without any complication also discredits Kaye's suggestion that the Sikhs enlisted in the British forces during the sepoy mutiny in order to regain their military capability to fight the British at some opportune moment.

Kaye's suggestion regarding the motives of the Sikhs for helping the British during the sepoy mutiny is not only unsupported by evidence but also most unconvincing from the point of view of simple logic. First, to help a foe to save himself from destruction and then to challenge him after he had consolidated his position and power would obviously be a very poor and risky strategy for an individual or a people. And it was most improbable that the Sikhs, who were twice crushed by British arms during the

past decade, would adopt during the mutiny such a foolish and suicidal policy.

The evidence considered in this chapter amply demonstrates that the general thinking of the Sikhs during, and after, the sepoy mutiny was far from betraying the British; that instead of conceiving any design against the British the Sikhs believed that by helping their conquerors during the crisis they would earn the patronage of their rulers, whose apathy and indifference toward their interests was rapidly pushing them toward social obscurity; and that from the first to the last they never lost sight of their calculated aims of avoiding retribution and winning rewards from the British. In other words, forced by their pragmatic needs, the Sikhs were most disinclined to let the opportunity afforded by the crisis of 1857 pass by without making an attempt to prove to the British that they had no political designs against them. However, this did not mean that the sentiments of the Sikhs for their lost kingdom had cooled off. The post-mutiny development resulting from Rani Jindan's intrigues to cause disaffection among the Sikh soldiery serving in Hindustan, which actually posed little threat to the British political supremacy, was in any case an indication of the nostalgia of the Sikhs for their lost kingdom. But in spite of their yearning for the glory of the Khalsa the Sikhs did not permit sentimentality to be their guiding principle during the sepoy mutiny; instead, realizing their state of helplessness, they adopted

a very realistic attitude toward their relations with their British rulers and at no time during the crisis of 1857 did they entertain thoughts of betraying the British. On the other hand, optimism for rewards induced the Sikhs to help the British with complete sincerity.

The outcome of the sepoy rebellion and the recompense which the Sikhs later received for their services to the British proved that the Sikhs played their role in the crisis of 1857 very discreetly.

CHAPTER 5

REWARDS OF THE SIKHS FOR HELPING THE BRITISH

After the rebellion of 1857-58 the British conferred on the Sikhs rewards which were more real than mere cordial acknowledgements of their fine services during the crisis. The Sikh princes, sirdars and jageerdars, soldiers and peasants, all were liberally rewarded according to their rank and the services they had rendered. As a religious community, too, the Sikhs received splendid recompense from their British rulers and moved upward to an unrivalled place among the native communities of the Punjab. The Government after the sepoy rebellion had enough resources at its disposal to give generous rewards. The confiscated estates of the rebels and the falling into its distrust and disfavour of the Poorbeah class permitted the Government to reward the Sikhs handsomely.[1]

The Sikh princes of the Cis-Sutlej states received the most generous consideration from the Government. Aside from the magnitude of the actual help in terms of men and material which these princes gave to the British during the crisis, their loyalty and steadfastness had given the British incalculable political and strategic advantages over the rebels. These princes had kept under control the whole territory between the Sutlej and Jamuna rivers, an area which was vitally important to the British for conveying reinforcements

to Delhi. Besides, their loyal example had served as an antidote to the poisonous rumours against the British rule. In other words, their loyal conduct influenced the populace of both the Cis-Sutlej and Trans-Sutlej territories to remain steady and peaceful.[2] From both the military and political angles the alliance of the Cis-Sutlej princes had proved extremely useful to the British.

Of the Sikh princes the Maharaja of Patiala, Narinder Singh, merited, because of his rank and services, top considieration from the Government. In addition to his actual help, which was prompt and extensive, his attitude of unwavering loyalty had proved invalauble to the British in that he being "the acknowledged head, not only of the Malwa Sikhs in the Cis-Sutlej states, but also of the rajahs and petty chiefs in the adjacent hills" his example was readily followed by other princes.[3] His loyalty and services were, therefore, splendidly rewarded by the British.

A tract of land, called the Narnoul territory, which was confiscated from the rebel nawab of Jhajjar, was granted to the Maharaja of Patiala in reward for his services. This territory was valued for revenue at two lakhs of rupees (£20,000) per year and was given to the Maharaja "on condition of good behaviour and service, military and political, at any time of general danger or disturbance."[4] This particular grant of land to the Patiala ruler was dictated by political considerations: in the view of the Punjab Government the placing of friendly Sikh chiefs among troublesome Mohammedan Rajput tribes was politically desirable.[5] In

addition, the Maharaja was given back the family estate of Bhadour which Government had recently taken over because of a jurisdictional dispute. The estate was very small in value but its return was much desired by the Maharaja because of his sentimental attachment with the family possessions. The confiscated palace in Delhi of Queen Zeenat Mahal, King Bahadur Shah's favourite wife, was also conferred on the Maharaja and a substantial addition was made to his honorary titles.

Raja Sarup Singh of Jind was second to the Patiala chief in the help given to the British during the sepoy rising. He went into action for the cause of Government even before any formal request for help was made to him by the authorities and throughout the siege of Delhi the Raja not only gave men and provisions to the Field Force but also remained personally in front of the struggle. In reward for his highly valuable services an estate, lost by the rebel nawab of Dadri and about 575 square miles in area, was conferred upon him. This generous grant increased the whole revenues of the Jind ruler from two lakhs of rupees (£20,000) to three lakhs (£30,000) per annum. Besides, the Raja also received in perpetuity thirteen villages of the Thanesar district. The forfeited house in Delhi of the rebel Mughal prince Mirza Abu Bakr was also given to the Raja. Further honours bestowed on him included the raising of his salute to eleven guns and the increase in his titles and the number of trays to be presented to him on grand or viceregal durbars.[6]

Because of the geographical position of his state Raja Bharpur Singh, the boy-chief of Nabha, did not play as prominent a part during the disturbances of 1857 as the more powerful chiefs of Patiala and Jind. Nevertheless, he threw himself with full zeal and sincerity on the side of the British Government. He rendered the local authorities every assistance in keeping under control the city of Ludhiana, in escorting the siege-train, and in procuring supplies for the army. He gave to the Government a generous loan of two and a half lakhs of rupees (£25,000). The young Nabha ruler was ever eager to personally lead his contingent, which remained before Delhi throughout the siege, but because of his young age Government did not permit him to undertake active field service. Like the chiefs of Patiala and Jind, he too was substantially rewarded for his fideltiy and services. Government added to his territory a part of the confiscated lands of Jhajjar yielding an annual revenue of over a lakh of rupees (£10,000). Additions were also made to his titles and other honours.[7] Thus through his wisdom and loyalty the youthful prince of Nabha won back for his family lands and revenues almost equal to what it had lost in 1846 through his father's disloyalty to the British during the Sutlej Campaign.

The three Phulkian chiefs, namely, the rulers of Patiala, Jind, and Nabha, were also granted a number of concessions which they had long desired. The right to inflict capital punishment, a right of which they were deprived after

the First Sikh War, was restored to them on their united request. Government also allowed their request with regard to the appointment of a Council of Regency, consisting of three loyal servants of a state, during the minority of the head of that state. Believing that the affairs of the state would be too much for the Phulkian women, who were by and large uneducated, Government agreed, as requested by the three chiefs, to exclude women from participation in the affairs of their states. It turned down, however, the accompanying request of the chiefs not to entertain complaints from the female relatives and other dependents of the Phulkian Rajas. The most desired of all concessions and privileges solicited in the petition of the three Phulkian rulers was the right of adoption in default of a male issue. This right was also granted. All these privileges were confirmed by the Governor-General, Canning, in a private durbar held at Ambala on January 18, 1860, and a few months later, as desired by the Cis-Sutlej chiefs, sanads [certificates] of grants of territories and special concessions were given to them.[8]

There were also numerous smaller Sikh chiefs and jageerdars in the Cis-Sutlej whose loyal services to Government during the mutiny were suitably rewarded. The titles and honours of the Faridkot Raja, who had zealously helped the Ferozepur authorities in suppressing local mutinies, were considerably increased; he was also relieved from the feudal obligation of making available his contingent to the

Ferozepur district authorities. The Sikh *jageerdars* of the Cis-Sutlej had most willingly provided men for various police duties during the disturbances, and so Government, in acknowledgement of their services, remitted the assessed land rent for that year and permanently reduced the assessment to one-half.[9]

In the Trans-Sutlej territory there was only one Sikh Raja--the ruler of Kapurthala state. Raja Randhir Singh, like the Sikh princes of the Protected States to the south of the Sutlej, also gave tangible proof of his loyalty to Government during the crisis of 1857. He had helped the Jullundur authorities save the city from the mutinous sepoys. In May 1858, the Raja, accompanied by his brother Bikram Singh, personally led his troops against the Oudh rebels and rendered admirable service in field. His loyalty was also rewarded generously. The entire tribute for the year 1857 (almost £13,000) was given back to him and the yearly tribute due from him was reduced to £2,500. Corresponding additions were made to his honours and titles. For the services of his troops in Oudh, the Government paid the Raja two lakhs of rupees (£20,000). In addition, the Kapurthala chief was granted in Oudh the two confiscated estates of Boundi and Bithouli at half rates.[10]

During the sepoy rebellion the Sikh *sirdars* and *jageerdars* in the Trans-Sutlej Punjab had rendered service to Government according to their means. In every case they, too, were liberally rewarded with honours and *khillats*

[presents] of cash. However, realizing that the gratuities, though substantial, could not provide permanent means of livelihood, Government made generous land grants to Sikh officers when their services were terminated. Through this liberal policy, the fortune of almost every aristocratic Sikh family in the Punjab was enhanced. The list of recipients being long, individual mentions must be dispensed with. However, reference to the cases of some of the most influential and leading beneficiaries is appropriate. Punjab Singh, a cavalry officer who earned distinction for bravery during the Delhi and Oudh campaigns, was granted in Oudh an estate valued at four thousand rupees (£400) per annum and an additional 700 acres in the Amritsar district.[11] Sirdars Nand Singh and Makhan Singh, the two brothers who acted during the crisis of 1857 as personal advisers of the Chief Commissioner, received a grant of two villages in the Punjab.[12] Sirdar Nihal Singh Chachi, on whose advice John Lawrence decided to recruit old Sikhs and who fought valiantly against the Mohammedan rebels of Googaira, received a jageer of six thousand rupees (£600).[13] A jageer worth twelve thousand rupees (£1,200) a year was conferred on Jawahir Singh who had won distinction for bravery in eighteen encounters against the Oudh mutineers.[14] Another cavalry officer, Sirdar Bishan Singh, who was known for his fearlessness and who had to his credit participation in fifty bitter engagements, was given a village as jageer in Gujarat district; he received further land grants in Jhelum district.[15] Hira Singh of Talwandi received for his services as a cavalry

officer in Hindustan a grant of 50 acres near Nurpur in Kangra district.[16] And there were many other Sikh aristocrats whose loyalty and services during the mutiny were likewise acknowledged by Government.

In the matter of awarding _jageers_ and honours the former enemies of the British, namely, the Sikh families which had opposed the British in the Second Sikh War, received from Government as generous a treatment for their loyalty during the sepoy rebellion. The Nalwa family of Gujranwala district, for example, had lost its lands after annexation; but the service in the field before Delhi by Sirdar Jawahir Singh, son of the famous Sikh general Hari Singh Nalwa, restored the Nalwa family to prominence among the Sikh aristocracy.[17] The _jageer_ of the China family of Amritsar, which was confiscated in 1849, was given back to its leaders, Sirdars Jai Singh and Hardit Singh, because in 1857 both brothers served with distinction as cavalry officers under the British.[18] Raja Surat Singh Majithia, who was removed to Benaras after annexation and who had shown loyalty to Government and rendered good military service in Hindustan, was granted a valuable _jageer_ in Hindustan; in 1861 he was also allowed to return to the Punjab.[19] One of the surviving _sirdars_ of Attari, Gulab Singh, who was removed to Bengal after the Second Sikh War, also performed eminent service during the mutiny. As a captain in the British army Gulab Singh discharged his duties brilliantly. In recognition of his loyalty and able services a generous _jageer_ was bestowed upon him in Hindustan and he,

too, was permitted to return to the Punjab.[20] In truth, Government's policy of making liberal land grants had the effect of resurrecting socially practically every Sikh family that had fallen into obscurity because of its share in the Sikh War of 1848-49.

The interest shown by Government in the welfare and prosperity of the _sirdars_ and _jaqeerdars_ was in reality a direct consequence of its new outlook or attitude toward the Sikh aristocracy. Government had learned a few lessons from the sepoy rebellion and perhaps the most significant of all was a realization that its policy of degrading and distructing the Sikh chiefs and aristocrats--a policy which was introduced and popularized in the Punjab by those civil servants who, with John Lawrence in the lead, belonged to the Thomason School of Administration--was wrong and deceptive. The course of the mutiny had proved beyond question that the _sirdars_ and _jaqeerdars_ were free of taint of treachery and disloyalty and, above all, it was only the aristocratic families whose hearts and means could provide during an emergency much needed help as well as inspiration to the peasantry to remain firm and loyal. The folly of looking for help and leadership to lower classes, merchants, and money-lenders became thoroughly evident to local authorities during the mutiny in every district of the province. The leadership and loyalty exhibited by the leading Sikh families during the crisis of 1857 had, therefore, radically changed Government's attitude toward them. To preserve and nourish these influential Sikh families became the new policy of the Government

of India. And the architect of this new policy was the Governor-General, Canning, himself.[21] The wisdom of Canning's policy of attaching the Sikh aristocracy to Government through honours and patronage met with the full support of the Home Government. While congratulating Canning on his successful visit to the Punjab, the Secretary of State for India, Wood, echoed Canning's own views:

> We reduce the natural gentry and persons of hereditary and family influence, to raise the mere moneylenders and traders. The latter cannot help us. The former are all indifferent if not against us. We must endeavour to enlist on our side the classes naturally possessing influence in the country. You may be assured therefore of my support.[22]

Canning was also fortunate in that the administration of the Punjab was headed at this time by a distinguished civil officer, Montgomery, whose views on the matter of extending patronage to the Sikh aristocracy fully coincided with those of the Governor-General. Montgomery, who was the Judicial Commissioner in the Lawrence administration and who replaced John Lawrence as Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab in January 1859, not only approved of Canning's liberal policy toward the Sikh aristocrats but also became among the Bengal civil servants the leading critic of the Dalhousie-Lawrence policy of lowering the native chiefs. The loyal conduct of the _sirdars_ and _jageerdars_, with whom as Judicial Commissioner he dealt directly during the crisis of 1857, had convinced Montgomery that without the native aristocracy there would be no link between foreign rule and "the dead

level of an immense population."[23] Appreciating Canning's new policy as a political expedient of the utmost importance, Montgomery carried it out with genuine devotion and enthusiasm. The parallel here was indeed interesting; if Dalhousie found in John Lawrence a faithful and able executor of his policy of weakening the Sikh aristocracy, Canning discovered in Montgomery as compatible and efficient a subordinate to enforce in the Punjab his post-mutiny policy of rehabilitating and upholding the Sikh aristocracy.

Besides making generous land grants to loyal _sirdars_ Canning wanted to enforce two more measures for the purpose of preserving and augmenting their influence and interests. First, the Governor-General wanted to see the estates of the _sirdars_ consolidated; second, he was keen on conferring judicial and revenue powers on them.[24] These proposals pleased Montgomery, the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, and were also favourably received by Wood, the Secretary of State for India. However, despite the personal support of Wood, approval from the Home Government did not come easily. John Lawrence, now a member of the advisory body called the Council of India (successor to the former Court of Directors), opposed Canning's proposals tooth and nail during the debates of the Council on these issues. Warning Canning of Lawrence's stiff opposition to his proposals Wood wrote to him:

> I certainly agree in the policy, and so does the Queen . . . This brings me to the question of the Sirdars. I have not yet seen the report of the

> Committee, but Lawrence came to me yesterday. He does not like it at all; thinks that there are very few fit to be trusted; and that there is danger in uniting their lands. He says Ranjeet Singh always took care to have the estates of his sirdars scattered, so as to prevent their having too much power in particular districts, and that we ought to pursue the same policy. He thinks it very objectionable giving up any village from our mild superintendence to the grasp of a Sirdar. I believe the Committee are against him, but he is very uncomfortable about it. You know how well he is acquainted with the Punjab, and what weight is due to his views. He seems to me excellent in practice, but I have not the same confidence in the longsightedness of his views . . . .[25]

When finally the Home Government sent its approval to the Government of India, the Secretary of State for India again confided to the Governor-General the difficulties which had to be surmounted:

> The approbation of the Sirdars' magisterial powers is gone; so that I think now you have our approval of all that you have done. You may not think it very warm; but you must remember that Lawrence, who naturally has great influence and authority in such a matter, is opposed to any change in the Punjab, Sirdars or police; and it is a great thing to pass a despatch, without any dissintient voice, through Council.[26]

The consolidation of their lands and the conferment of magisterial powers on them naturally gave the <u>sirdars</u> great satisfaction and made them more successful and popular among the Punjabi masses.[27] The strong sentiments of loyalty and gratitude expressed by them and by the discharged Sikh officers "for their land, for their retained rank, and for their arms" on the one hand gave the lie to John Lawrence's phobia of distrusting the Sikh aristocracy and on the other hand proved the correctness of the views of Montgomery, who had always maintained that Lawrence's opposition to Canning's

liberal policy toward the sirdars and jageerdars was wrong.[28] Subsequent developments also proved that Canning was right. His policy was by and large pursued by all successive administrations during the remaining decades of the 19th century.[29] Even John Lawrence, when in India as Governor-General from 1864 to 1869, finally saw the political necessity of following Canning's policy, although he admitted that at heart his bias was for the Ryot, that is, for the commoners and peasants.[30] The loyal behaviour of the Sikh aristocracy during all the post-mutiny administrations left, of course, little room for doubting the wisdom of Canning's post-mutiny policy toward the sirdars and jageerdars, whose mood of flattering loyalty was often reflected during these years through the pronouncements of the Singh Sabha, a society supported by the landed Sikh gentry.[31] The farewell message that was sent to Lord Ripon by the Singh Sabha in 1889 was a classic example which showed how intensely the Sikh gentry cultivated servile loyalty to the crown:

> Our bodies are the exclusive possession of the British. Moreover, that we are solemnly and religiously bound to serve Her Majesty; that in discharging this duty we act according to the wishes of our Great Guru, the ever Living God and that whenever and wherever need be felt for us, we wish to be the foremost of all Her Majesty's subjects, to move and uphold the honour of the crown; that we reckon ourselves as the favourite sons of our empress-mother, although living far distant from Her Majesty's feet and that we regard the people of England as our kindred brethren.[32]

Not only the words but the deeds of the Sikh gentry, as well as of the Sikh princes, also showed to subsequent

administrations that Canning's policy of conferring special honours and rewards on the Sikh chiefs and sirdars was, from political considerations, the right policy to follow. The extreme desire of the Sikh gentry for honours and titles from the crown never showed signs of abatement during the post-Canning decades. So the British exploited this fact to their full political advantage by holding ceremonial durbars, by appointing Sikh leaders to the Legislative Council of India set up in 1861 (Maharaja Narinder Singh of Patiala was the first Indian to sit on the Council), by making from time to time additions to the salutes and titles of the Sikh princes, and by conferring on every occasion of Queen Victoria's birthday anniversary the First Class Star of India on the princes and the Stars of the second and third class orders on the sirdars and jaqeerdars. Such honours and titles were regarded by the Sikh gentry as acts of overt reassurance to them by Government of its continued interest in their welfare. They always coveted these honours and in order to win them they remained foremost in supporting the cause of Government during times of emergency. Especially during the last two decades of the 19th century the political difficulties which Government had on the north-western frontier with certain unruly Pathan tribes like the Madda Khels allowed the Sikh princes and sirdars, a convenient scope to demonstrate their ever-present desire to serve the crown in the hope of securing rewards and honours. During these frontier disturbances the Imperial Service Troops of the Sikh princes proved

extremely useful to Government and in recognition of the loyal services of the Sikh princes it bestowed on them, and on the officers of their troops, special honours.[33]

Aside from making it their policy to give rewards for special services during periods of emergency the British also began to take a keen interest in the financial and educational health of the loyal Sikh aristocracy. During the post-mutiny years the Sikh aristocratic families, if beset with financial and managerial difficulties on their estates, could always depend upon the guidance and assistance of the district officers and political agents.[34] For the purposes of educating the princes and the landed aristocracy and training them for leadership the Aitchison Chiefs College (named after the Lieutenant-Governor of the province) was founded in 1885 at Lahore. These measures no doubt stabilized and guaranteed the continuance of a materially content and loyal Sikh gentry which gratefully served as a great bulwark of the crown to the last day of its rule over India. It is indeed hard to exaggerate the worth of Canning's political wisdom which envisioned the great advantages to the British through a policy of attaching to the crown the traditional leaders of the Punjabis.

The most significant reward of the Sikhs as a people and religious community was in the fact that the British attitude toward them suddenly became sympathetic and protective after the sepoy rebellion. During the eight years between annexation and the outbreak of the mutiny the attitude of the

British toward the vanquished Sikhs was essentially one of cold indifference, though never of antagonism or hostility. With complete absence of interest the British observed during those years the constant ebbing of the socio-economic status of the Sikhs and philosophically accepted the steady diminution of their numbers as a natural and inevitable consequence of the march of history. The sacrifices made by the Sikhs for the British during the sepoy mutiny changed this thinking and aroused in the minds of the British a genuine desire to save this loyal and valiant religious minority from extinction. The new attitude of benevolence toward the Sikhs was warmly declared by the Punjab Government itself.

> Sikhism is not dormant; but it must be in justice said that the Sikhs did not take advantage of the crisis [of mutiny] to attempt the restoration of their nationality and their mystic commonwealth; and, that, from first to last, they gave no sign against us . . . and, on the whole, their conduct has been such as should render us more anxious than ever to secure their welfare.[35]

Indeed Government honoured its words with deeds and during the post-mutiny decades it took many steps to promote the economic, educational, and religious interests of the loyal Sikh community.

The first important step taken by Government for the benefit of the Sikhs, and, of course, for its own political advantage, was to throw open to them service in the army. Again, it was the loyalty of the Sikhs more than their deeds of bravery during the battles of the mutiny which really brought about a change in the Government's pre-mutiny policy of recruiting only a limited number of Sikhs. That the

Sikhs were good fighters was well known to the British since the Anglo-Sikh Wars. In the Anglo-Burmese War of 1852, and in the expedition against the Mohmaund tribes in 1854, the Sikhs had provided added proof of their fighting quality.[36] However, in the pre-mutiny years political reasons deterred the British from recruiting the Sikhs in large numbers for the regular army.[37] The unhesitating manner in which the Sikhs supported the British during the crisis of 1857 finally cleared away all British suspicions about the fidelity of the Sikhs and after the mutiny the doors for service in the British army were opened wide for them.

The demand for the Sikh recruits rose quickly in the post-mutiny years. The Poorbeah sepoys, who had always resented the employment even of a small number of Sikhs in the British army,[38] had fallen into disgrace and to replace them the British made the Punjab and the Gurkha country of Nepal their new enlisting grounds. Among the races and castes of north-western India the Sikhs, whose fidelity and soldiering quality were now well established, naturally became the most popular recruits for the army. The increased threat of war in China toward the end of 1859 also gave impetus to the enlistment of the Sikhs. As the necessity of enforcing the Treaty of Tientsing became apparent to the British they hastened to reinforce their garrisons in China with more Indian troops. Their choice for China service fell on the Sikh regiments, from which the Government of India, as advised by Home Government, chose volunteers.[39] The

reputation and conduct of the Sikh regiments serving abroad opened another avenue of employment for the Sikhs. The governors of the British colonies on the China coast began to ask for Sikhs for police service in the colonies; in 1867 the governor of Hong Kong made the first such request to Government of India.[40] Aside from the tensions and hostilities in China other trouble spots in the world also increased the demand for Sikh soldiers. For example, in 1867 Egyptian designs against the Abyssinian native chiefs, coupled with the fact that recruiting men in England for overseas service was both costly and unpopular compelled Home Government to employ Indian troops in the African expedition too.[41] The Afghan War of 1879-80 and the perennial troubles with the Pathan tribes along the north-western frontiers were other important factors which heightened during the last two decades of the 19th century the army's need for more Sikhs. The preferential recruitment of the Sikhs, which was stimulated by these global demands and pressures on the Imperial army, led to a considerable increase in the proportion of the Sikhs in the army. In the pre-mutiny years there were, for example, not more than 7,400 Sikhs in the 74 battalions of the regular army or the Bengal Line. But at the turn of the century the regular army, which was reconstituted and reduced to 50 battalions during the first post-mutiny decade, had 10,866 Sikhs. Moreover, against this strength of the Sikhs there were 20,057 Punjabi Moslems and 11,601 Punjabi Hindus in the

Imperial army. In other words, the Sikhs, who constituted at this time only 12 percent of the Punjab's total population, received about 25 percent of the Punjab's share in the Imperial army.[42]

The recruitment of the Sikhs in the Imperial army had very important implications. First of all it obviously brought economic advantages to the Sikh peasantry. The attraction of receiving regular pay in cash made army service highly popular with the Sikh peasant. The offer of a small increase in pay instantly made him the most willing adventurer who, unlike his predecessor the Poorbeah sepoy, would show no qualms about leaving the shores of his country for service abroad. From overseas he sent money, as regularly as he received it, to his family and parents and he sent home letters to cheer his folks with the news that both his rations and treatment were good.[43] His cash remittances went a long way to raise the social-economic status of his family in his village. The money sent by him meant wastefully liberal spending on family marriages (a sign of respectability in the Punjabi villages), more scope to get a wife for himself or a brother, a _pukka_ or baked-brick house in place of a mud-house, a well or a purchased share in its water to irrigate his family's land holdings, a stronger and better-bred pair of bullocks to plough his fields, means to pay the tuition fee for the English education of a son or nephew in the high school, a sympathetic treatment to his family from the Revenue and Police

officials, and, above all, to a degree an insurance against losing his family's lands to the village money-lender. These socio-economic advantages naturally made army service popular among the Sikh peasantry which remained to the last day of the British rule over India a safe and prodigious source of recruits for the Imperial army.

The opening of army service to the Sikhs also resulted in deepening the sense of caste-identity amongst the members of the Sikh community. The preponderance of the Jats in the Sikh regiments of the Imperial army renewed and heightened the pride and prestige of the Sikh Jats. In bygone days it was the Sikh Jats who were the flower of the Khalsa army; they were the rulers of the Punjab; and it was they on whom annexation had wrought the heaviest socio-economic losses. However, remembering the soldiering quality of the Sikh Jats the new masters of the Punjab had enlisted them in the British army as early as 1849, the year of annexation. Of the 7,400 Sikhs enlisted in the regular army during the pre-mutiny years all belonged to the Jat caste. Sikhs of other castes, whom the Sikh Jats considered lower than they, were debarred from army service. This was done by Government to make the army service an honourable profession. But during the mutiny Government was forced by necessity to make a slight change in this policy and had recruited three companies of the Mazhbis, Sikhs belonging to the untouchable caste. During the siege of Delhi the Mazhbis did good service as sappers and miners and from that

time the British began to enlist the Mazhbis as well as Sikhs of other castes. Nevertheless, during the post-mutiny decades British preference for the Sikh Jat recruits remained very marked. Thus at the turn of the century there were 6,666 Sikh Jats in the army and rest of the Sikh soldiers (roughly 2,500) belonged to numerous other non-Jat, both agriculturist and non-agriculturist, tribes.[44]

British preference for the Jats, who were the largest land-owning caste amongst the Sikhs and who were in the old days the traditional leaders of the Sikhs, consolidated their position at the top of the caste complex in the Sikh community. Retention by the Sikh Jats of their traditional caste ascendancy under British rule naturally inflated their pride and superiority complex. As a result they became under British rule highly caste-conscious; they even began to look down upon the Brahmins and Kshatriyas, the two senior Hindu castes that had always regarded the Jats as Sudras or the lowest of the four Hindu *varnas*. Caste-consciousness made the Sikh Jats increasingly particular about the purity of their race, making them as inflexible as the Brahmins in their opposition to inter-caste marriages. In religious congregations they began to segregate the Mazhbis and other low caste Sikhs, considering them as unfit to sit or eat with the superior Sikh Jats. In short, Government patronage corrupted the mentality of the Sikh Jats so much that they cared only to pay lip-service to the fundamentals of their faith, namely, the brotherhood of man

and a spiritual commonwealth of all disciples of Nanak and Gobind Singh. Finally the preferential selection of the Sikh Jats for the Imperial army and the material gains and honours which they received through the soldiering profession ingrained in the mentality of the Sikh Jats an arrogant and ridiculous notion that "Sikh" and "Jat" were synonymous terms.

There was yet another important result of the preferential enlistment of the Sikhs. The army regulation requiring all Sikhs who joined it to accept the paol, that is, to be baptized in the tradition of their faith, and to faithfully follow the custom of wearing a beard and keeping the unshorn long hair of head bundled together under the turban, went a long way in preserving the separate identity of the Sikhs. Though the original purpose of this regulation, made in Dalhousie's time, was to allay the fears of the Sikhs already serving in the army that an existing requirement that all new recruits, including those of the Sikh faith, must cut off their beards would undermine their faith,[45] its continued enforcement in the post-mutiny decades checked the process of reversion of Sikh families to Hinduism. Since the Sikhs and Hindus followed a common social system, reconversion of the Sikhs to Hinduism was very easy; and after annexation the prospects of material gains and social advantages that came with being a Sikh having disappeared, the Sikh population had begun to decline.[46] The process of reversion to Hinduism had at times, despite the aforesaid

regulation, invaded even the Sikh regiments; for example, a few years after the mutiny a whole Sikh regiment stationed at the Hindu holy city of Benaras became Hindus.[47] But this steady dwindling of Sikh numbers during the post-mutiny years ran counter to the military and political advantages to the British in preserving the distinct identity of this loyal and martial community.[48] Therefore, as early as the 1860s, but more particularly during the last twenty years of the 19th century when the Singh Sabha, the religious-political organization of the Sikhs, became very loud in its appeals to Government to help the Sikhs preserve their identity, the Government began to strictly enforce Dalhousie's regulation which required the Sikh soldiers to stick to their custom of wearing long hair and beards. And once the threat to the distinct identity of the Sikh corps was gone, a similar effect on the identity of the entire community followed automatically, for the socio-economic advantages of becoming a real Khalsa were, as in former days, once more available.

Government also rewarded the loyalty of the Sikhs during the sepoy rebellion of 1857 by reserving a very generous share of employment for them in the Police, Civil, and Revenue Departments of the Punjab. During the pre-mutiny years the Hindustanis had enjoyed a virtual monopoly of the junior administrative jobs in the Punjab, a situation which deeply hurt the Sikhs' feelings. The mutiny, however, turned the tables in favour of the Sikhs and the

removal of the disgraced Hindustanis from the departments of the Punjab administration suddenly created for the Sikhs new opportunities of employment. The joining of Hariana and Delhi to the Punjab in late 1858 widened this scope further. As a matter of fact the end of Government patronage for the Hindustanis made available to the Sikhs employment opportunities in the civil services, especially in the police departments, of other provinces as well. Within a few years of the sepoy mutiny the Sikhs could be found even in the civil police of India's distant and off-shore administrative unit of the Andaman Islands.[49] The opportunities for employment in the civil service also contributed during the last half of the 19th century to the prosperity and preservation of the separate identity of the Sikhs.

A late, though highly significant reward for their loyalty, was given to the Sikhs during the last decade of the 19th and the first decade of the 20th century. During that period, which saw the completion of a network of canals, roads, and rail lines in the deserts of the <u>doabs</u> (the lands between the Punjab's rivers), Government, in its search for colonists for the reclaimed barren lands, showed a marked preference for the Sikh Jat farmers. There is no doubt that the Sikh Jats were the best farmers of the Punjab, excelling even their kinsmen of the Mohammedan faith.[50] It is doubtful, however, whether their outstanding qualities as cultivators of land would alone have made Government so generously disposed toward them. Most surely the political

implications of making free land grants in the canal colonies must have been looked into by the British. The Sikhs were fortunate in that they had the two requisites of loyalty to Government and excellence in agriculture to make them the preferred colonists. Consequently the largest of the canal colonies, the Lyallpur colony in the Rechna Doab (land between the Ravi and the Chenab), was reserved principally for Sikh Jat colonists from the districts of Ludhiana, Jullundur, and Amritsar. These Sikh colonists were divided into three classes; the peasant proprietor received roughly 20 acres free of cost, the yeoman farmer was given on the average 120 acres at a very nominal cost of 10 rupees per acre, and the landlord or "the representative of the landed gentry" got, according to his status, from 120 to 600 acres at a slightly higher cost than that paid by the yeoman. Within a few years of their coming the Sikh Jat colonists turned through their skill and endurance the rehabilitated canal colonies into rich granaries of the Punjab.[51] The enormous production year after year of wheat and cotton from their new lands rapidly made the Sikhs the most prosperous community in the Punjab. Their enhanced prosperity during the first decade of the 20th century infused them both with pride in their separate identity and a feeling of fresh gratitude to Government.

Besides getting economic rewards from Government the loyalty of the Sikhs also won them the patronage of Government for their literary and educational development. The

Sikh literary and educational movement was a direct result of the sense of pride and identity which quickly developed after the sepoy mutiny through Government's policy of preference for them in the army and civil services. Other factors reinforced the desire of the Sikhs to preserve and promote their own religious literature and to establish their own educational institutions. The proselytizing activities in the 1870s of the Christian missions and the Punjab branch of the Arya Samaj, the head-start made by both the Hindus and Mohammedans in starting their own modern schools and colleges, and the steady spread of modern education in the province through Government schools posed a serious threat to the identity and progress of the Sikh community. The educated Sikh leaders from the landed gentry and the Sikh middle class were quick to perceive this danger. Their vision and initiative led to the founding in the 1870s of two societies, each called by the name of Singh Sabha. The leaders of both Singh Sabhas realized that the literary and educational movement of a small religious minority such as the Sikhs would not last long unless it received the help and patronage of Government. The cultivation of loyalty to the crown being among the important objectives of the Singh Sabhas, Government showed a quick and hearty response to the appeals of the Singh Sabhas for its patronage of their objectives.[52] At a function of one of the Singh Sabhas the viceroy, Lansdowne, gave his personal felicitations to the movement:

> With this movement the Government of India is in hearty sympathy. We appreciate the many admirable qualities of the Sikh nation, and it is a pleasure to us to know that, while in days gone by we recognised in them a gallant and formidable foe, we are today able to give them a foremost place amongst the true and loyal subjects of Her Majesty the Queen Empress.[53]

Shortly after this the two Singh Sabhas, now enjoying the blessings of Government, united their efforts to promote their missionary, educational, and literary programmes. Liberal donations to support the cause of the Singh Sabha movement were made by the Sikh princes and by English sympathisers. Branches of the Singh Sabha were opened in the towns and villages of the province. Soon Gurmukhi or Punjabi literature and newspapers began to reach the Sikh masses and in a few years the Singh Sabha movement acquired a grassroots character. With the money collected from the Sikh laity the society started a number of Khalsa schools in which the teaching of Gurmukhi and Sikh scriptures was made compulsory. The boldest educational venture of the Singh Sabha met success on March 5, 1892, when the governor of the Punjab, James Lyall, laid the foundation stone of the Khalsa College at Amritsar.[54] In the years that followed the missionary activities of the Singh Sabha also picked up momentum. Through its efforts many Hindu families in the Punjab and Sind provinces accepted the Sikh faith. Embarking upon a missionary programme brought the Singh Sabha into direct conflict wiht the proselytizing Arya Samajists, who then became noisier than ever in denouncing the Sikh gurus as hypocrites and in claiming Sikhism to be a sect of

Hinduism. Undeterred by the claims and contemptuous propaganda of the Arya Samajists the Singh Sabha showed a remarkable tenacity in advancing its cause. Before the first decade of the 20th century came to a close the Singh Sabha movement had through its missionary, literary, and educational efforts not only removed the chronic threat to the separate identity of the Sikhs but had also gained many converts at the expense of Hinduism. But its achievements did not at any time make it oblivious of its indebtedness to Government whose patronage constantly emboldened it to literary and educational ventures. And it repaid this debt of gratitude to Government in the form of pledges of loyalty of its political organ, the Chief Khalsa Diwan, a society organized by the Singh Sabha in 1902.

The prosperity and the revival of a sense of separate identity among the Sikhs, which resulted primarily through Government patronage, had a direct bearing on the Sikh population. As stated earlier the Sikh population had started to decline after annexation in 1849. After their defeat in the Second Sikh War a general mood of depression had come over the Sikhs; the socio-economic advantages of being a Sikh seemed gone for ever; and the indifference of their foreign conquerors toward their interests discouraged the Sikh families from bringing their children for baptism at the Golden Temple on the Baisakhi festival. During the years between annexation and the outbreak of the mutiny the British were, therefore, wont to suggest that the Sikhs

were destined to lose their identity. Dalhousie shared this foreboding:

> Their great Gooroo Govind Singh sought to abolish caste and in a great degree succeeded. They are, however, gradually relapsing into Hindooism; and even when they continue Sikhs, they are yearly Hindooified more and more; so much so, that Mr. now Sir Geo. Clerk (governor of Bombay, 1847-48) used to say that in 50 years the sect of the Sikhs would have disappeared. There does not seem to be warrant for this view, though it is much more likely now than six months ago.[55]

But this gloomy prediction was not fulfilled, because the circumspection and insight shown by the Sikhs during the sepoy rebellion of 1857 ensured a brighter future for them. Through the patronage of Government, which they earned as a reward for their loyalty and sacrifices during the mutiny, their population began to flourish.

Between 1855, the year when the first census of the Punjab was taken, and 1868, the year of the second enumeration in the Punjab, the growth in the Sikh population was phenomenal. In 1855 the Sikhs were not separately enumerated but were lumped with the Hindus; hence the figures about the strength of the Sikhs in the province were not given. However, separate statistics about the Sikhs were provided during the enumeration of five selected districts, namely, Amritsar, Lahore, Gurdaspur, Gujranwala, and Sialkot. The returns relating to these five districts, where Sikhism was in any case strongest, serve as an index for the increase in the Sikh population. In 1855 the percentage of the Sikhs to the total population of these five

districts was 5.2. In 1868 this percentage had risen to 12.5, declining slightly to 11.5 at the time of the third census in 1881 but again rising to 12.3 in 1891 when the fourth enumeration took place.[56] The small decrease in the percentage between 1868 and 1881, after its impressive increase during the 13 years before 1868, could be attributed to the despatch of Sikh regiments for service outside the Punjab, the wearing off of the first flush of recruitment of the Sikhs that began during the sepoy rebellion (though toward the end of this 13-year period a fresh stimulus was given by the Afghan War of 1879-80), and to the missionary zeal and activities of the Punjab Arya Samaj.[57] Furthermore, while attempting to explain the temporary decrease in the rate of growth of the Sikh population between 1868 and 1881, we should also consider the disquietening fact that during these 13 years the overall increase in the province's population was, for reasons which the officials failed to pinpoint, only 7.1 percent as against the corresponding increase of 16.1 percent during the 13-year period between 1855 and 1868.[58] An overall low rate of increase in the population of the province was bound to affect adversely the rate of growth of a small minority. Nevertheless, the results of the Census of 1891 gave the lie to the inconclusive picture produced by the Census of 1881. The enumeration in 1891 showed that the Sikhs were decidedly on the increase in British territory. In that year the Sikhs represented 6.66 percent of the population of the Punjab's

districts against the 5.95 percent representation in 1881; and the Census Report of 1891 further revealed that "In all the districts where Sikhism is strong, it has developed faster than the population at large" and that "the general tendency has not been, as is generally supposed, towards a decrease in the number of Sikhs."[59] This view was given further credence by the enumerations of 1901 and 1911. The Census of 1901 showed an increase of 13.9 percent in the Sikh numbers and the Census of 1911 revealed a further increase of 37 percent.[60] Commanding a strength of 2,883,729 in the Punjab's total population of 24,187,750 the Sikhs formed in 1911 a compact and prosperous religious community which had eventually struck firm roots in the land of its birth.

The rewards conferred by Government upon the Sikhs in no way fell short of their expectations. Their astuteness, and their strong instinct for self-preservation, had inclined them in 1857 to put faith in the traditional generosity of the British toward their friends and allies. And generously indeed the Sikhs were rewarded by their rulers when calm returned to the country. The Sikh princes were rewarded with many honours and generous accretions to their principalities; through liberal land grants and the grant of magisterial powers the _sirdars_ and _jageerdars_ were once again elevated in society; and those Sikh families which were ruined by annexation were rehabilitated. As in the days of the Sikh kingdom the _Khalsa_ again became the

unrivalled contender for the honours of the soldiering profession. The Sikh hakims (civil officials) to a great extent replaced the disgraced Hindustani kotwals and tahsildars. The land grants in the largest canal colony gave yet another shot in the arm to the Sikh community whose consciousness of its distinct identity grew proportionately with its prosperity. In their struggle to perpetuate their separate identity through an ambitious literary and educational programme the Sikhs also received moral and financial help from the crown. But all this may be summed up by saying that the efforts of the crown during the post-mutiny years to safeguard and promote the vital interests of the Sikhs was the reward that it gave to the Sikhs for their loyalty and sacrifices during the sepoy mutiny.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

Three important features stand out in our study of the relation of the Sikhs to the sepoy rebellion of 1857. First, the sepoy mutiny ended the state of depression and obscurity in which the Sikhs had fallen after annexation of the Punjab. Secondly, the Sikhs showed great wisdom and determination in executing during the mutiny the role which they chose for themselves and which they believed to be the right one for them. Thirdly, the sepoy mutiny ushered in an era of reemergence of the Sikhs to the forefront of the socio-economic life of the Punjab. The third feature invokes greater historical interest inasmuch as it presents the year 1857 as a landmark in Sikh history, of as great significance as the birth of Guru Gobind Singh or Maharaja Ranjit Singh. However, this point cannot be considered independently. Chronology and logic force us to examine the other two points first.

It was only natural that the crushing defeat of the Sikhs in the Sikh War of 1848-49, followed by the loss of their kingdom, would lower their morale. But on the whole the Sikhs bore these blows courageously and they never let their spirits sink to the point where the effects of melancholy and nostalgia for their lost glory would rob

them of all the lustre and enterprise in their character. Submitting to the reality that surrounded them they quickly rechanelled their energies to the plough and settled to the peaceful life of the peasant. Besides their own ability to adjust to the changed conditions, the change-over from soldiering to cultivation was made less painful by the moderate policy of the Board of Administration in the matter of their estates and jageers. The magnanimity and humanity of Henry Lawrence, Chairman of the Board, did a lot to assuage their depression and pacify their minds. Even when Henry was gone from the Punjab in 1853 his policy of treating the fallen Sikhs humanely was not changed radically by his brother, John, who succeeded Henry as head of the Punjab administration. But though the moderate policies of the Punjab administrations between 1849 and 1857 had helped the Sikhs to accept the new order without feelings of acrimony and humiliation there were two features of British rule which pained and disturbed the Sikhs more than the loss of their kingdom. One was the general indifference on the part of the British toward their interests and the other was the introduction of Hindustani civil and police officials into the Punjab.

The Sikhs found British indifference, or, more appropriately, denial of British patronage, both depressing and puzzling. They recognized that they were vanquished in a fair fight by a superior power against which they now harboured little bitterness or ill will. Therefore, they

felt they should enjoy the confidence of Government and receive from it attention and patronage before any other class or community. But what the Sikhs did not understand was that in the matter of extending its patronage Government had to act with political circumspection and in the eyes of the British they were a political risk. And it was only out of admiration for the qualities of bravery and forthrightness in the character of the Sikhs that the British had not reduced them to the degrading position of a landless class and it was out of respect for those very attributes in them that Government did not altogether preclude them from service in the army and civil police. But these were the limits to which Government's consideration for the Sikhs went. Whether they would survive or slowly fade out of existence the British attitude of indifference toward them could not change. However, the Sikhs, simple and sincere, expected more generosity from their conquerors, whose superiority in the arts of war and government they unhesitatingly acknowledged but whose diplomacy they could not fathom. Their inability to get at the practical political wisdom of the British baffled them.

The flooding of the Punjab with Hindustani civil servants only added insult to injury. The Sikhs and other Punjabis regarded the Poorbeahs as a race of inferior men who only a decade or so before 1857 used to come into the Sikh kingdom to beg employment. But after annexation in 1849 this "inferior race of mercenaries" virtually ruled

over the Punjab. Even the Sikh generals and governors of the old days were obliged to show respect to the Hindustani kotwals and tahsildars, who, as executors of laws and Government orders, were regarded by the masses as men of great power and authority. For the Punjabis annexation had meant, as Montgomery put it, the coming of "the Hindustani raj." Of the Punjabis the Sikhs, as former rulers of the Punjab, naturally felt most humiliated by the sudden ascendancy of the Hindustanis in the Punjab. But there was little that the Sikhs could do to shake off the authority of the arrogant and supercilious class of Hindustani junior officials. The British wanted them; they were trained civil servants drawn from the eastern provinces and were needed by the British to control and govern the new province.

British indifference and the presence of the Hindustani junior civil servants, the two factors which constituted the real causes of the low spirits of the Sikhs, came to a sudden and unexpected end in 1857. The outbreak of the sepoy mutiny spurred the Punjab Government to speedily disarm the sepoys and purge the civil service of the Hindustani officials. This unexpected blow to the hold of the Hindustanis over the Punjab's civil service gave the Sikhs great pleasure and satisfaction. Sudden overtures from their British rulers gave them still greater pleasure. Their prompt assurances of help and loyalty not only relieved the British of their anxiety to win the Sikhs over to their side, but also brought home to the British the error of

their past assumption that the Sikhs were a political risk. The exigency created by the developments of 1857, in other words, forced the British to reconsider their attitude toward the Sikhs, and when their feelers instantly brought a positive response from the Sikhs they immediately began to enlist them for the emergency expansion of the Punjab army and police. And from that time the Sikhs and their British rulers entered upon a new era of mutual trust and friendship. Within a week of the outbreak of the mutiny the Sikhs stumbled on their release from the depressive effects of British indifference toward their interests and the authority of the Hindustani civil servants. Nothing could be a more welcome development to the Sikhs than the sepoy rebellion which abruptly cut short their period of despair and sadness.

The second striking aspect revealed by our study was the patience and dogged determination with which the Sikhs stood by and served the British during the sepoy mutiny. During the course of the mutiny there were times when the mental attitude of the Sikhs toward the mutiny as well as their spirits were subjected to tremendous strain; however, both showed enough elasticity to retain their original textures. But before proceeding with our discussion it should be made clear that the ability to endure physical hardships or the virtue of courage is not the issue here; for the Sikhs were well known for their martial qualities. It is, on the other hand, the Sikhs' resolution to adhere to their

own decision of siding with the British that features in our study of their role in the sepoy rebellion. Such stubbornness, of course, would be absent from their behaviour if they did not have a purpose before them. The Sikhs indeed had a vital purpose, which was to advance their socio-economic status in the Punjab, a status next only to their foreign rulers. This aim could be achieved by them, they were convinced, only through the support and patronage of Government. The mutiny, they calculated, gave them a unique opportunity to win that patronage by giving their full support to the British, especially when the latter had approached them for it. They were confident that rewards for their help and loyalty would unquestionably accrue to them, because from first to last their faith in the superiority of British military power, and in the traditional British liberality toward friends and allies, remained alive and strong. The lessons of their own history were there to guide the thoughts of the Sikhs on these lines. Their beliefs and convictions in turn found expression in their actions which clearly pointed to their stakes.

Considering that the suppression of the mutiny turned out to be a long drawn out affair and that no succour arrived from England before the fall of Delhi, the determination of the Sikhs to remain staunch supporters of the British appears all the more remarkable and revealing. Their steadfastness through the most critical stage of the crisis, namely, the period from the middle of July 1857, till the recapture of

Delhi in September of that year, was the final proof of their conviction in the ultimate victory of the British forces. It was this belief linked with their determination to achieve their purpose of getting rewards from the British that kept the Sikhs firm and steady in the face of false rumours and poisonous propaganda which had largely destroyed the confidence of the Punjabi Mohammedans and Hindu merchants in their Government. Rumours and the drag of the Delhi campaign no doubt caused the Sikhs concern but they refused to disregard their own logic. It was as though the minds of such long-time friends of the British as the Patiala ruler constantly reminded them: "You have always been gainers, don't turn into losers now," and as if the intuitive powers of other Sikhs persistently warned them: "You made mistakes in the past in your dealings with the British, don't make another." The outcome of the mutiny certainly justified the logic and determination of the Sikhs to support the British to the last. But the fact that they did not flinch from their chosen course was in itself a noteworthy feature of their role during the mutiny.

Finally, our investigation of the relation of the Sikhs to the mutiny indicates that the year 1857 was a turning-point in the history of the Sikhs. Putting it in broad terms we may generalize that the outbreak of the sepoy rebellion salvaged the Sikhs from a very serious socio-economic set-back and perhaps also saved them from extinction. The rapid socio-economic decline of the Sikhs

had been the natural and concomitant feature of annexation of their kingdom. Political considerations had obliged the British to disarm them completely, to reduce their wealth through confiscation and curtailment of their lands, to divest the sirdars and jageerdars of their hereditary magisterial powers, and to restrict their opportunities of employment in the civil and military services. The sudden decline in their wealth and prestige had started to take a heavy toll of their numbers. Forecasts about their eventual disappearance as a separate community were made even by responsible men in Government. But the unexpected developments of 1857 suddenly checked the forces which were fast carrying the Sikhs on the downward course. The police surveillance, which had virtually relegated many Sikh families to social outcasts, was lifted within a week after the news of the sepoy rising reached Lahore. At the same time the honours and privileges of the soldiering profession were also restored to the Sikhs. After the mutiny the rewards of the Sikhs by way of honours, gratuities, land grants, and conferment of magisterial powers on the Sikh aristocrats brought handsome compensation for the losses suffered by them between 1849 and 1857. To cap this the special honours and rewards given to the Sikh princes raised the social status of the Sikh community to a level hitherto unattained under British rule by any other class or social group in the Punjab. Thus the outbreak of the sepoy mutiny in May, 1857, catapulted the Sikhs out of a brief period of social disgrace into a new era of

respectability.

Of still greater significance was the change in British attitude toward the Sikhs that came with the outbreak of the mutiny in May, 1857. From that time the British, gratified with the loyal behaviour of the Sikhs, began to feel very strongly for them; they shed their pre-mutiny attitude of indifference toward the interests of the Sikhs and developed a genuinely sympathetic outlook toward them. The British manifested their new interest by instituting in the post-mutiny years a policy of preference for the Sikhs in the army and civil services. The new policy of Government showed positive results by stimulating economic prosperity and rapid growth in numbers of the Sikhs. Inside a period of only ten years these results were shown by the new policy of Government. The Census of 1868, the first in the post-mutiny years, showed that in districts which were the traditional strongholds of Sikhism, such as the district of Amritsar, the Sikh population had risen appreciably having improved its percentage on the total population from 5.2 in 1855 to 12.5 in 1868. Through the patronage of Government the Sikh population continued to show this upward trend in later years, too. Especially during the last two decades of the 19th century Government patronage of the educational and religious institutions of the Sikhs and its policy of making generous land grants to them in the new canal colonies of the Punjab gave an uprecedented impetus to the growth of the Sikh population. A steady increase in

the strength of the Sikhs was successively recorded in the enumeration reports of 1881, 1891, 1901, and 1911. In 1911 the Sikhs had more than doubled their strength of 1,144,090 in 1868. Such phenomenal growth of the Sikh population in a period of about forty years could occur only through a British policy of benevolence and patronage. And this policy of the British made its beginning with the crisis of 1857. To make the argument conclusive we need only to remind ourselves that in the pre-mutiny years British indiffference toward the fallen Sikhs had effectively produced the opposite results.

The Sikhs, then, began in 1857 a new era of prestige, economic prosperity, and growth in their strength. Until 1857 they were living under British rule in a constant state of gloom and uncertainty about their future. The prospects of their survival as a distinct religious community were slim indeed. The sudden and unexpected bursting forth of the sepoy rebellion, however, broke this dark and gloomy spell and ushered in an era of new hope. The year 1857, therefore, marks a dramatic turn in the history of the Sikhs--a turn away from obscurity and looming extinction. The outbreak of the sepoy mutiny heralded, as it were, the rebirth of the Sikh community.

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[1]It was the Jat peasantry in the main who during the sixteenth and the eighteenth centuries had accepted Nanak and Gobind Singh as their prophets. Their teachings included a belief in the unity of the Godhead, universal toleration and benevolence, and strict morality. The Jats were, therefore, the backbone of the Sikhs. It should be made clear at this point that the Sikhs are not a race but followers of a creed, Sikhism, in which the Jats predominate. During the eighteenth century the twelve _misls_ or confederacies of the Sikh Jats overthrew Muslim rule in the Punjab. Between Guru Gobind Singh's death in 1708 and the annexation of the Punjab in 1849, the history of the Sikhs is indeed the history of the Jats. The ethnic origin of the Jats is much disputed. Griffin was of the opinion that the Jats and Rajputs were derived from a common stock, namely, the Indo-Aryan race, whereas Todd thought that they were the descendants of the Scythians and the Goths. (See Lepel Griffin, _Ranjit Singh_, (Delhi, First Indian Reprint, 1957, first published in 1892), p. 33 and J. Todd, _Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan_, I, (Calcutta, 1879), pp. 46-47).

[2]H. R. Gupta, _History of the Sikhs_, (Lahore, 3 vols. 1944), III, pp. 130-131.

[3]_Punjab Administration Report for 1849-50 and 1850-51_, in _Parliamentary Papers_ LXIX, (1854), p. 484. (Hereafter cited as _Punjab Admin. Report, 1849-51_).

[4]"Minute by Bentinck, March 13, 1835," cited in D. C. Boulger, _Bentinck_, (Oxford, 1892), p. 180.

[5]"Abstract of Intelligence from the Punjab," January 22, 1844, cited in H. R. Gupta, _Punjab on the Eve of First Sikh War 1844_, (Punjab University, 1956), pp. 51-52.

[6]Ibid., pp. 66-68. Also, J. D. Cunningham, _A History of the Sikhs_, (London, 1849), pp. 249-250.

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[7]Administration During Duleep Singh's Minority, in Parl. Papers,XLI, (1847), pp. 173-174.

[8]Punjab Admin. Report, 1849-51, p. 484

[9]H. Edwardes and H. Merivale, Life of Sir Henry Lawrence, (London, 1873), p. 383. The Maharani Jindan Kaur later escaped from Benaras into Nepal. During the sepoy mutiny her activities in Nepal caused a great deal of anxiety to the British. Later on, she was allowed to rejoin the deposed Maharaja in Calcutta, where, to the great relief of the British, she confirmed the rumours of the death of the Nana, the arch-enemy of the British. The mother and son spent the rest of their lives in England.

[10]Hardinge to Hobhouse, February 8, 1848, Ibid., p. 418.

[11]Currie to Henry Lawrence, July 20, 1848, Ibid., p. 421.

[12]Ibid., p. 420.

[13]Loc. cit.

[14]M. Edwardes, The Necessary Hell, (London, 1958), p. 111.

[15]Bosworth Smith, Life of Lord Lawrence, (London, 2 vols., 1883), I, p. 276.

[16]"Memo of Surplus or Deficit in the Revenues and Charges of India from 1814-15 to 1859-60," Proceedings of the Legislative Council of India, VI, (1860), p. v.

[17]J. G. A. Baird, Private Letters of the Marquess of Dalhousie, (London, 1911), p. 28.

[18]Edwardes and Merivale, Life of Sir Henry Lawrence, p. 440.

[19]Ibid., p. 434.

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[20]Dalhousie from Camp Ferozepur, February 5, 1849, Private Letters, p. 52.

[21]G. D. Bearce, British Attitudes Towards India, 1784-1858, (New York, 1961), p. 205.

[22]Dalhousie, March 30, 1849, Private Letters, p. 62.

[23]Minute by Dalhousie, dated February 28, 1856, in Parl. Papers, XLV, 1856, p. 110.

[24]Bearce, British Attitudes Towards India, 1784-1858, p. 192.

[25]E. T. Stokes, The English Utilitarians and India, (Oxford, 1959), p.165.

[26]Ibid., p. 249.

[27]Punjab Admin. Report, 1949-51, p. 497.

[28]Ibid., p. 496.

[29]Henry Lawrence to Herbert Edwardes, March 17, 1849, Edwardes and Merivale, Life of Sir Henry Lawrence, p. 443.

[30]Loc. cit.

[31]Punjab Admin. Report, 1849-51, pp. 498-509, and 514.

[32]Ibid., p. 500.

[33]Ibid., p. 508.

[34]Ibid., pp. 522-25.

[35]Ibid., p. 537. (One lakh of rupees, Rs. 100,000, was the equivalent of £10,000 at this time. One hundred lakhs equalled one crore).

[36]Ibid., p. 557.

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[37]Ibid., p. 583.

[38]Ibid., p. 586.

[39]Ibid., p. 568.

[40]The Board was astonished to find in existence the system of female education in all parts of the Punjab, and in all sects. The Board recorded in their First Report that female education was almost unknown in other parts of India at that time.

[41]Punjab Admin. Report, 1849-51, p. 576.

[42]Ibid., p. 573.

[43]Statistical Abstract Relating to British India, 1840-1865, in Parl. Papers, LXXII, (1867), p. 75. (Hereafter cited as Statistical Abst. of Br. India, 1840-65.)

[44]Punjab. Admin. Report, 1849-51, p. 573.

[45]Ibid., p. 550.

[46]Government of India to Court of Directors, July 2, 1853, Ibid., p. 457.

[47]Court of Directors to the Governor-General, October 26, 1853, Ibid., p. 466.

[48]Bosworth Smith, Life of Lord Lawrence, I, p. 311.

[49]R. Temple, Lord Lawrence, (London, 1889), p. 59. Temple served in the Punjab at this time; he was the Secretary to the Board of Administration.

[50]R. Temple, Men and Events of My Time in India, (London, 1882), p. 64.

[51]Dalhousie to Henry Lawrence, December 23, 1852, cited in Edwardes and Merivale, Life of Sir Henry Lawrence, p. 481.

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[52] Temple, *Men and Events of My Time in India*, p. 64.

[53] Henry Lawrence to John Lawrence, January 20, 1853, cited in Edwardes and Merivale, *Life of Sir Henry Lawrence*, pp. 483-484.

[54] John Lawrence to Henry Lawrence, Bosworth Smith, *Life of Lord Lawrence*, I, p. 390.

[55] Ibid., pp. 387-388.

[56] John Lawrence to Dalhousie, Ibid., p.397.

[57] Temple, *Men and Events of My Time in India*, p. 85.

[58] *Punjab Administration Report for 1856-57 and 1857-58*, in *Parl. Papers*, XVIII, (1859), p. 459. (Hereafter cited as *Punjab. Admin. Report, 1856-58*.

[59] Ibid., p. 461.

[60] Ibid., p. 467.

[61] Ibid., pp. 471-472.

[62] *Statistical Abst. of Br. India, 1840-65*, p. 72; *Punjab. Admin. Report, 1856-58*, p. 472.

[63] *Punjab Admin. Report, 1856-58*, p. 472.

[64] *Statistical Abst. of Br. India, 1840-65*, p. 73. The Punjab expenditure on education that year was similar *per capita* to those of other provinces (the Punjab expenditure *per capita* was roughly £.0008, whereas the Madras expenditure *per capita* was £.0013, the Bombay £.0029, and the Bengal £.0022).

[65] Even in the post-mutiny decades, the Punjab administrations gave lukewarm support to higher education. By the early 1880s (after forty years of British rule) there were only two Arts Colleges and twenty-one high schools,

mostly private, to meet the educational needs of nearly eighteen million Punjabis. The school-population ratio was better in other areas. In the 1880s, for example, there were two hundred seven high schools for seventy million Bengalis; eighty-five for thirty-one million Madrasis; one hundred thirty-two for forty-four million inhabitants of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh; and forty-one high schools for sixteen million people of Bombay. See B. T. McCully, English Education and The Origins of Indian Nationalism, (New York, 1940), p. 164.

[66] Punjab Admin. Report, 1856-58, pp. 473-477.

[67] Statistical Abst. of Br. India, 1840-65, p.75.

[68] Punjab Admin. Report, 1856-58,p. 475.

[69] Ibid., p. 477.

[70] Ibid., pp. 490-491.

[71] Minute by Dalhousie, February 28, 1856, p. 114.

[72] Temple, Men and Events of My Time in India, p. 155.

[73] John Lawrence to Canning, April 21, 1857, Canning Papers: Letters from the Chief Commissioner of the Punjab, Serial No. 54A.

[74] Philip Woodruff, The Men Who Ruled India, (London, 2 vols., 1953), I, p. 370.

[75] Minute by Dalhousie, February 28, 1856, p. 119.

[76] Montgomery to Canning, August 17, 1860, Canning Papers: Letters from the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, Serial No. 36.

[77] Punjab Admin. Report, 1856-58, p. 475.

[78] Ibid., p. 474.

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[79]The Bari Doab was opened up to Lahore in early 1859. But the plans for the Sutlej Canal and for the projects for new canals from the Chenab, Jhelum, and Indus rivers were finalized after 1867. (See East India, Irrigation Works, in Parl. Papers, LIII, (1870), pp. 15-16.

[80]Statistical Abst. of Br. India, 1840-65, p. 8.

[81]Punjab Admin. Report, 1856-58, pp. 478-479.

[82]F. Cooper, The Crisis in the Punjab, (London, 1858), p. xv.

[83]Temple, Men and Events of My Time in India, p. 145.

[84]Cooper, The Crisis in the Punjab, p. 44.

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[1]Return of the Actual Force that was in India at the Time of the Mutiny at Meerut, in Parl. Papers, XXXVII,(1857-58), p. 252.

[2]Deputy Commissioner of Ambala to Chief Commissioner of the Punjab, telegram, May 12, 1857, Punjab Government Records, Mutiny Correspondence, (Hereafter cited as PGR,MC), (Lahore, 1911), VII, Part I, p. 20.

[3]G. C. Barnes, "Reports on the Events in the Cis-Sutlej Division," Punjab Government Records, Mutiny Reports, (Hereafter cited as PGR,MR), (Lahore, 1911), VIII, Part I, p. 37.

[4]Ibid., pp. 4 and 7.

[5]Ibid., p. 8.

[6]Ibid., p. 6.

[7]T. D. Forsyth, "Narrative of Events in the Umballa District," Ibid., p. 38.

[8]John Lawrence to General Anson, May 21, 1857, PGR, MC, VII, Part I, p. 55.

[9]W. S. R. Hodson, Twelve Years of a Soldier's Life in India, (London, 1859), pp. 188-189.

[10]Keith Young to wife, May 29, 1857, Keith Young, Delhi, 1857, (London, 1902), pp. 28-29.

[11]Keith Young to wife, June 1, 1857, Ibid., pp. 34-36.

[12]Keith Young to wife, June 7, 1857, Ibid., p. 45.

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[13]Letter No. 17, dated June 10, 1857, H. H. Greathead, Letters Written During the Siege of Delhi, (London, 1858), p. 33.

[14]General Sir Archdale Wilson, The Mutiny Day by Day, Appendix I, p. 125, cited in The Journal of the United Services Institution of India, ed. Col. H. R. Nevill, (October, 1921), Vol. LI.

[15]In his recent book, The Mutiny Outbreak at Meerut in 1857, J. A. B. Palmer has defended the actions of General Hewitt and Brigadier Wilson on May 10, the day of the mutiny in Meerut. After analyzing the evidence Palmer concludes, in Chapter 11, that since "it was not known whither the mutinous regiments had gone," Hewitt and Wilson "did better to hold their force together for the protection of the station." In truth Palmer's analysis fails to provide convincing answers to some very important questions. According to Palmer himself, Hewitt had been told by a European that he had heard some plundering sepoys shouting to each other, "to Delhi!" Under these circumstances it was Hewitt's duty to investigate whether the mutineers had taken the road to Delhi. Faced with a grave emergency Hewitt should have moved with alacrity to explore every possibility to learn about the movements of the mutinous regiments. But he chose to ignore a precious piece of information. Palmer further argues that Hewitt and Wilson rightly felt that the sepoys could have gone to plunder European lines, and so the removal of the European force by them from the parade grounds to European quarters was justifiable. But the fact is that they did not find any mutineers in European lines. Why didn't they then launch further efforts to find out the movements of the whole mass of mutineers? Despite Palmer's labour to exculpate Hewitt and Wilson, the charges of inaction and lack of promptitude laid against them by the historians, notably by Kaye (Sepoy War, II, pp. 62-67), remain, in my opinion, valid and unanswered. See J. A. B. Palmer, The Mutiny Outbreak at Meerut, 1857, (Cambridge, at the University Press, 1966), pp. 106-118.

[16]Government of India to Government of North-Western Provinces, August 29, 1856, Punjab Government Records, Records of the Delhi Residency and Agency, 1807-1857, (Lahore, 1911), Vol. I, pp. 465-467.

[17]Chalres Theophilus Metcalfe, Two Native Narratives of the Mutiny in Delhi, (Translated from the originals by C. T. Metcalfe of the Bengal Civil Service), (Westminster, 1898), pp. 85-91.

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[18]Loc. cit. How the mutineers forced the King's clerks to write letters to the native princes was also recorded vividly by Zaka-u-Allah, a contemporary Urdu historian. See p. 694 of Tareekhi Arooji Inglishia (in Urdu) by Zaka-u-Allah, cited in R. A. Ja'fri, Bahadur Shah Zafar aur oon ka Ehed (in Urdu), (Lahore, 1955), pp. 121-123.

[19]Metcalfe, Two Native Narratives of the Mutiny in Delhi, pp. 61-62.

[20]Keith Young to wife, June 23, 1857, Delhi, 1857, p. 78; J. Cave-Browne, The Punjab and Delhi in 1857, (London, 2 vols., 1861), I, pp. 349-350.

[21]Metcalfe, Two Native Narratives of the Mutiny in Delhi, p. 137. Also, Letter No. 40, July 4, 1857, Greathead, Letters Written During the Siege of Delhi, p. 92.

[22]Keith Young to wife, July 9, 1857, Delhi, 1857, p. 117.

[23]Metcalfe, Two Native Narratives of the Mutiny in Delhi, p. 169.

[24]Keith Young to wife, July 30, 1857, Delhi, 1857, p. 160 and Letter No. 65, July 29, 1857, Greathead, Letters Written During the Siege of Delhi, p. 153.

[25]Metcalfe, Two Native Narratives of the Mutiny in Delhi, p. 170; Keith Young to wife, August 2, 1857, Delhi, 1857, p. 171. Also see the King's Eed proclamation in the Delhi Urdu Akhbar, cited in S. A. A. Rizivi, Savtantar Dili (in Hindi), (Department of Information of the Uttar Pradesh Government, Lucknow, 1957), p. 5.

[26]Metcalfe, Two Native Narratives of the Mutiny in Delhi, p. 205.

[27]Punjab Admin. Report, 1856-58, p. 487.

[28]Punjab Government to Government of India, June 25, 1857, PGR,MC, VII, Part I, p. 157; Keith Young to wife, July 9, 1857, Delhi, 1857, p. 119; Hodson to wife, July 12, 1857, Twelve Years of a Soldier's Life in India, p. 229;

also, R. Montgomery, Judicial Commissioner of the Punjab, to Government of India, June 12, 1857, PGR,MC, VII, Part I, p. 181.

[29]General Wilson to John Lawrence, telegram dated July 18, 1857, Ibid., pp. 230-31.

[30]John Lawrence to Wilson, telegram dated July 21, 1857, Loc. cit.

[31]Punjab Government to General Wilson, July 22, 1857, Ibid., p. 232.

[32]Punjab Government to Government of India, July 23, 1857, Ibid., p. 227. In John Lawrence's view the Peshawar Valley, which the Sikhs had wrested from the Afghans, was an unproductive and malarious area for whose defence 3,000 European soldiers were needed. This force, Lawrence thought, could be advantageously used for the Delhi campaign if the administratively expensive Peshawar Valley were entrusted to Dost Mohammed, the Amir of Afghanistan, on the latter's assurance to the British that the peace along the western frontiers of the Punjab would not be disturbed. Such prominent functionaries of the Punjab administration as Edwardes, the Commissioner of Peshawar, and Nicholson, were strongly opposed to Lawrence's proposal to evacuate the Peshawar Valley, because they were not prepared to trust the word of the Afghan and, more important, they believed the Peshawar Valley had strategic importance for India's defence. Canning eventually accepted the views of Edwardes and Nicholson and rejected Lawrence's proposal to give up the Peshawar Valley.

[33]Cave-Browne, The Punjab and Delhi in 1857, I, p. 93.

[34]R. Montgomery, Judicial Commissioner for the Punjab, "Report of the Measures Adopted by the Different Authorities During the Crisis of 1857," PGR,MR, VIII, Part II, pp. 198-199. See also Punjab Admin. Report, 1856-58, p. 486.

[35]Edwardes, Commissioner of Peshawar Division, to Punjab Government, May 29 and June 2, 1857, PGR,MC, VII, Part I, pp. 86-87 and pp. 96-97.

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[36]Punjab Government to Government of India, June 12, 1857, Ibid.,pp. 122-124; Major Edward John Lake, "Report on Events in the Trans-Sutlej Division," January 5, 1858, PGR,MR, VIII, Part I, p. 147.

[37]Punjab Government to Government of India, July 10, 1857, PGR,MC, VII, Part I, pp. 195-199.

[38]See a letter to the editor from a civil servant at Sailkot, The Times, September 2, 1857.

[39]Dr. J. H. Butler to Lt. McMahon, Assistant Commissioner of Sialkot, July 11,1857, PGR,MC, VII, Part I, p. 242.

[40]Gazetter of the Gurdaspur District, 1883-4, p. 39.

[41]Punjab Government to Government of India, July 14 and 18, 1857, PGR,MC, VII, Part I, pp. 211-212, and Cave-Browne, The Punjab and Delhi in 1857, II, pp. 71-73.

[42]Punjab Government to Government of India, July 14, 1857, PGR,MC, VII, Part I, p. 213; Cave-Browne, op. cit., pp. 81-83.

[43]F. H. Cooper, Deputy Commissioner of Amritsar, to A. A. Roberts, Commissioner of Lahore Division, August 5, 1857, PGR,MC, VII, Part I, pp. 390-395; F. H. Cooper, The Crisis in the Punjab, (London, 1858), pp. 162-163.

[44]Major F. Marsden, Deputy Commissioner of Ferozepur District, to Judicial Commissioner of the Punjab, August 20, 1857, PGR,MC, VII, Part I, pp. 412-415.

[45]Cave-Browne, The Punjab and Delhi in 1857, II, pp. 110-113.

[46]Punjab Government to Government of India, July 18, 1857, PGR,MC, VII, Part I, p. 220.

[47]Lake, "Report on Events in the Trans-Sutlej Division," PGR,MR, VIII, Part I, p. 155. For the relative strength of the Sikh population in the districts of the Punjab, see "Report on the Census of the Punjab taken on

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10th January, 1868," Census of India, 1872, p. 23, and D. C. J. Ibbetson, "Report on the Census of the Punjab taken on the 17th of February, 1881," Census of India, 1881, Vol. I, Punjab, p. 140. The first census of the Punjab was taken on January 1, 1855, and the statistics in it about the comparative numbers of the Sikhs were cited in Ibbetson's census report of 1881. Thus the statistics of the first census of the Punjab have also been considered in producing this chapter.

[48] Punjab Government to Government of India, July 23, 1857, PGR,MC, VII, Part I, pp. 226-228.

[49] John Lawrence to John Kaye, November 19, 1863. John Lawrence Collection (India Office Library Mss. Eur. F. 90): Miscellaneous Letters to Lord Lawrence, 1863-1868, Vol. XXXIX.

[50] Punjab Government to Government of India, August 13, 1857, PGR,MC, VII, Part I, pp. 342-343.

[51] Loc. cit.

[52] Punjab Admin. Report, 1856-58, p. 486.

[53] General Wilson to J. R. Colvin, Lieutenant-Governor of North-Western Provinces, July 30, 1857, PGR,MC, VII, Part I, p. 289.

[54] Keith Young to wife, August 19,1857, Delhi, 1857, p. 220.

[55] Keith Young to wife, August 14, 1857, Ibid., p. 201; Letter No. 82, August 15, 1857; Greathead, Letters Written During the Siege of Delhi, p. 195.

[56] J. C. Marshman, Memoirs of Sir Henry Havelock, (London, 1876), p. 335.

[57] Panmure, Secretary of State for War, May 19, 1857, House of Lords, Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, Vol. CXLV, p. 481 and Earl of Granville, President of the Council, July 13, 1857, House of Lords, Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, Vol. CXLVI, p. 1331.

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[58]Earl of Granville, loc. cit. Also, Vernon Smith, President of the Board of Control, August 11, 1857, House of Commons, Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, Vol. CXLVII, p. 1426.

[59]Panmure, May 19,1857, House of Lords, Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, Vol. CXLV, p. 481

[60]Col. H. B. Henderson to Keith Young, July 26, 1857, cited in Keith Young, Delhi, 1857, pp. 167-168.

[61]Vernon Smith,August 11, 1857, House of Commons, Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, Vol. CXLVII, pp. 1425-1426.

[62]The Times, August 13,1857.

[63]Keith Young to wife, August 25, 1857, Delhi, 1857, p. 235.

[64]Keith Young to wife, August 25, 1857, Ibid., p. 234.

[65]General Sir Archdale Wilson, Mutiny Day by Day, Appendix I, (Brigadier Nicholson's Report), pp. 166-168, cited in The Journal of the United Services Institution of India, (October, 1921), Vol. LI. Also see Keith Young to wife, August 27, 1857, Delhi, 1857, pp. 242-243.

[66]Letter No. 94, August 27, 1857, Greathead, Letters Written During the Siege of Delhi, pp. 227-229.

[67]Metcalfe, Two Native Narratives of the Mutiny in Delhi, p. 223.

[68]Ibid., p. 219.

[69]Ibid., p. 226.

[70]At one time there were over 30,000 sepoys inside the city of Delhi. However, by the time the British forces assaulted the city on September 15, 1857, the strength of the insurgents had decreased considerably and their numbers were estimated at 16,000, in addition to about 4,000 undisciplined Mohammedan Jehadis or fanatics. See "The

statement showing the number of troops and places from which they revolted and arrived at Delhi," PGR,MC, VII, Part I, p. 432.

[71] Metcalfe, Two Native Narratives of the Mutiny in Delhi, p. 219.

[72] Ibid., p. 224.

[73] General Sir Archdale Wilson, The Mutiny Day by Day, p. 24, cited in The Journal of the United Service Institution of India, ed. Col. H. R. Nevill, (July, 1921), Vol. LI.

[74] Punjab Admin. Report, 1856-58, pp. 495-496; Cave-Browne, The Punjab and Delhi in 1857, II, pp. 127-128; Cooper, The Crisis in the Punjab, pp. 190-194.

[75] Punjab Admin. Report, 1856-58, p. 496; and Cooper, The Crisis in the Punjab, p. 191.

[76] Nicholson to John Lawrence, September 11, 1857, cited in Bosworth Smith, Life of Lord Lawrence, II, (London, 1883), p. 207.

[77] "The Account of the Assault by an Officer of the 1st European Bengal Fusiliers," cited in Hodson, Twelve Years of a Soldier's Life in India, p. 289.

[78] C. J. Griffiths, A Narrative of the Siege of Delhi, (London, 1910), p. 175.

[79] Hodson to wife, September 19, 1857, Twelve Years of a Soldier's Life in India, p. 296.

[80] Letter No. 113, September 16, 1857, Greathead, Letters Written During the Siege of Delhi, p. 280.

[81] The charge of Wilson's critics that even women and children were mercilessly slaughtered by the assault force is not supported by the evidence. Greathead and Keith Young, two senior officers with Wilson's army, recorded that, on the contrary, women, children, and old men were treated kindly and even given protection in the British lines. (See

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Letter No. 114, September 17, 1857, Greathead, op. cit., p. 282 and Keith Young, Delhi, 1857, p. 285). Moreover, the famous Urdu poet of Delhi, Mirza Galib, who witnessed the crimes of Wilson's soldiers, made no mention of the killing of women and children in his Persian account of the assault. See p. 64 of Dastnabo of Galib, cited in Ja'fri, Bahadur Shah Zafar aur oon ka Ehed, pp. 772-773.

[82]Galib, Dastnabo, p. 64, cited in Ibid., p. 773.

[83]Keith Young to wife, September 19, 1857, Delhi,1857, p. 297.

[84]Bahadur Shah gave himself up after receiving a promise from General Wilson that his life would be spared. Accordingly, after his trial Bahadur Shah was not hanged, but was exiled to Burma for good. See Wilson's letter to his wife, dated September 30, 1857, Wilson, The Mutiny Day by Day, p. 112, cited in The Journal of the United Services Institution of India, (October, 1921), Vol. LI.

[85]Wilson to the Adjutant of the Army, September 22, 1857, Ibid., Appendix I, p. 194.

[86]"Notification No. 1237 in a Gazette Extraordinary of the 2nd October, 1857," Ibid., Appendix I, p. 168.

[87]"General Orders No. 1257 of 1857 of the Government of India, October 8, 1857," Ibid., Appendix I, p. 171.

[88]"General Orders No. 1383 of 1857 of the Government of India, November 5, 1857," Ibid., Appendix I, p. 185.

[89]A letter to the editor from a civil officer in the Punjab, The Times, January 14, 1857.

[90]Montgomery, "Report of the Measures Adopted by the Different Authorities During the Crisis of 1857," PGR,MR, Vol. VIII, Part II, p. 200.

[91]Cave-Browne, The Punjab and Delhi in 1857, II, pp. 208-209.

[92]Gazetteer of the Gujranwala District, 1883-4, p. 18.

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[93] Captain Birch's narrative, cited in Lady Julia Inglis, The Siege of Lucknow, (London, 1892), p. 96.

[94] Captain Birch, cited in Ibid., p. 98.

[95] Julia Inglis, The Siege of Lucknow, p. 152.

[96] Captain Birch, cited in Ibid., pp. 163-165.

[97] Julia Inglis, The Siege of Lucknow, p. 160.

[98] Wilson to wife, February 29, 1857, Wilson, The Mutiny Day by Day, p. 182, cited in The Journal of the United Services of India, ed. Col. H. R. Nevill, (July, 1922), Vol. LII.

[99] General Campbell to Lord Canning, March 22, 1857, Ibid., pp. 210-225.

[100] A letter to the editor, The Times, September 2, 1857.

[101] Keith Young to wife, July 4, 1857, Delhi, 1857, p. 105.

[102] Marshman, Memoirs of Sir Henry Havelock, p. 268.

[103] The Earl of Derby, February 12, 1858, House of Lords, Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, Vol. CXLVIII, p. 1249.

[104] Col. H. R. Durrand, Political Agent to Canning, June 17, 1857, Canning Papers: Private Secretary's Correspondence II, Serial No. 3403.

[105] The Times, September 4, 1858.

[106] Punjab Government to Government of India, June 16, 1857, PGR, MC, VII, Part I, p. 134.

[107] Punjab Admin. Report, 1856-58, pp. 487-488.

[108] Barnes, "Reports on the Events in the Cis-Sutlej Division," PGR, MR, VIII, Part I, p. 19.

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[1]Joseph Davey Cunningham, A History of the Sikhs, p. 135.

[2]Lepel Henry Griffin, The Rajas of the Punjab, (Lahore, 1870), p. 421.

[3]Lord Lake could not recommend to his Government the conclusion of a formal treaty with the Cis-Sutlej chiefs because at this time the policy of the British Government was to avoid intervention in the affairs of the rulers beyond the Jamuna. (See Cunningham, A History of the Sikhs, p. 138.)

[4]A present-day descendant of one of the famous Fakir Moslem ministers of Ranjit Singh writes: "Ranjit Singh inspected Holkar's western model troops and was much impressed with their turnout and discipline. There was, however, one thing he could not puzzle out: why had they fled before Lord Lake's troops, which were similarly equipped and trained? It was to find the answer to this question that he paid the incognito visit to Lake's camp . . . . The answer he found was that the British troops were even better trained than Holkar's. Ranjit Singh, therefore, resolved to change the entire organization of the Khalsa army, laying more stress on infantry and artillery than on cavalry, and, above all, to make proper arrangements for training," See Fakir Syed Waheed-ud-Din, The Real Ranjit Singh, (Karachi, 1965), p. 123.

[5]Khushwant Singh, A History of the Sikhs, (Princeton, New Jersey, 1963), I, p. 212.

[6]The threat of French invasion of India began to haunt the British from the 1790s with Napoleon's incursions on the Middle East. In 1805 Persia was drawn into the French sphere of influence. The signing of the Treaty of Tilsit in 1807 between France and Russia compounded British fears of French-Persian-Russian attack on India and immediately prompted the British to seek mutual defence agreements with Sind, Lahore, and Kabul. (See R. A. Huttenback,

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"The French Threat to India and British Relations with Sind, 1799-1809," English Historical Review, LXXVI, (1961), pp. 594-597.

[7]Cunningham, A History of the Sikhs, pp. 148-149 and Appendix vlll, pp. 382-383.

[8]See the terms of the treaty of 1809 between the British and Ranjit Singh in Griffin, The Rajas of the Punjab, pp. 130-131.

[9]Khushwant Singh, A History of the Sikhs, Vol. 1, p. 230 and Fakir Syed Waheed-ud-Din, The Real Ranjit Singh, p. 81.

[10]Griffin, The Rajas of the Punjab, pp. 131-133.

[11]Cunningham, A History of the Sikhs, p. 150.

[12]Griffin, The Rajas of the Punjab, pp. 158-159.

[13]Ibid., pp. 198-199.

[14]Ibid., p. 202.

[15]Despatch of Lord Hardinge, dated November 17, 1846, cited in Griffin, The Rajas of the Punjab, pp. 208-215.

[16]Gazetteer of the Ludhiana District, 1888-9, p. 29; Griffin, The Rajas of the Punjab, pp. 215-216.

[17]Griffin, The Rajas of the Punjab, pp. 203-204.

[18]Charles Viscount Hardinge, Hardinge, Ed. Sir W. W. Hunter, (Oxford, 1891), pp. 123-124.

[19]Ibid., p. 126.

[20]Bosworth Smith, Life of Lord Lawrence, 1, (London, 1883), p. 201, and Hardinge, Hardinge, p. 141.

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[21]Hardinge, Hardinge, pp. 147-148.

[22]Philip Woodruff, The Men Who Ruled India: The Founders, (London, 1953), p. 329.

[23]An Extract from Henry Lawrence's article on Lord Hardinge's administration, cited in Lt. General J. J. Mcleod Innes, Sir Henry Lawrence the Pacificator, (Oxford, 1898), p. 92.

[24]C. J. Griffiths, A Narrative of the Siege of Delhi, 1857, (London, 1910), p. 3.

[25]Bosworth Smith, Life of Lord Lawrence, II, p. 4.

[26]Richard Temple, Men and Events of My Time in India, (London, 1882), p. 149. Also see a letter to the editor from a civil servant in the Punjab, The Times, September 2, 1857.

[27]Frederick Cooper, The Crisis in the Punjab, (London, 1858), p. 115.

[28]Ibid., p. 169.

[29]Temple, Men and Events of My Time in India, p. 140.

[30]John Lawrence to General Anson, dated May 21, 1857, PGR,MC, VII, Part 1, p. 54.

[31]A. Brandreth, Private Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, to R. Montgomery, Judicial Commissioner, August 21, 1857, PGR,MC, VII, Part 1, p. 405.

[32]Brigadier Johnstone, who commanded the Jullundur military station, was vacillating in the discharge of his duty during the mutiny at Jullundur on June 7, 1857. The Lawrence administration charged that the general was guilty of delay in starting in pursuit of the mutineers. An inquiry was later instituted into Johnstone's conduct. The findings of the inquiry, however, honourably acquitted the general of the blame. (See Cooper, The Crisis in the Punjab, pp. 94-96.) On an earlier occasion John Lawrence

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took to task Brigadier Innes, Commander of the Ferozepur military station, for showing leniency to the mutineers. In calling for the General's explanation Lawrence asked why in spite of the military crimes of the mutineers the General had not "capitally punished any mutineer!" See PGR,MC, VII, Part 1, p. 107.

[33]Bosworth Smith, Life of Lord Lawrence, II, p. 43; Temple, Men and Events of My Time in India, pp. 150-151.

[34]PGR,MC, VII, Part I, p. 405.

[35]Letter No. 84, August 17, 1857, H. H. Greathead, Letters Written During the Siege of Delhi, (London, 1858), p. 199; Keith Young to wife, September 3, 1857, Colonel Keith Young, Delhi, 1857, (London, 1902), p. 259.

[36]Bosworth Smith, Life of Lord Lawrence, II, p. 105.

[37]"Notification No. 1237 of the Government of India, dated October 2, 1857," General Sir Archdale Wilson, The Mutiny Day by Day, Appendix 1, p. 170, cited in The Journal of the United Services Institution of India, ed. Col. H. R. Nevill, (October, 1921), Ll.

[38]Cooper, The Crisis in the Punjab, pp. 6-8; also, R. E. Egerton, Deputy Commissioner of Lahore, to A. A. Roberts, Commissioner of Lahore Division, February 9, 1858, PGR,MR, VIII, Part I, pp. 261-262.

[39]Cave-Browne, The Punjab and Delhi in 1857, I, p. 303.

[40]James Naesmyth, Deputy Commissioner of Gurdaspur, to A. A. Roberts, Commissioner of Lahore Division, January 30, 1858, PGR,MR, VIII, Part 1, p. 297.

[41]Raja of Kapurthala to the Deputy Commissioner of Amritsar, August 4, 1857, cited in Cooper, The Crisis in the Punjab, p. 169.

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[42]T. D. Forsyth, "Narrative of Events in the Umballa District," PGR,MR, VIII, Part 1, p. 39.

[43]F. H. Cooper, Deputy Commissioner of Amritsar, to A. A. Roberts, Commissioner of Lahore Division, February 19, 1858, Ibid., pp. 269-272.

[44]Naesmyth, Deputy Commissioner of Gurdaspur, to Roberts, Commissioner of Lahore Division, January 30, 1858, Ibid., p. 293.

[45]Henry Monckton, Deputy Commissioner of Sialkot, to Roberts, Commissioner of Lahore Division, February 2, 1858, Ibid., pp. 276-277.

[46]Captain W. R. Elliott, Officiating Deputy Commissioner of Sialkot, to Roberts, Commissioner of Lahore Division, February 15, 1858, Ibid., p. 287.

[47]Robert Montgomery, Judicial Commissioner for the Punjab, "Report of the Measures Adopted by the Different Authorities During the Crisis of 1857," PGR,MR, VIII, Part II, p. 209.

[48]"Chief Commissioner's Punjab Mutiny Report," para 62, cited in Cave-Browne, The Punjab and Delhi in 1857, I, p. 137.

[49]Punjab Government to Government of India, May 23, 1857, PGR,MC, VII, Part I, p. 59; Cave-Browne, The Punjab and Delhi in 1857, I, pp. 224-225.

[50]Cave-Browne, The Punjab and Delhi in 1857, II, p. 239.

[51]G. C. Barnes, "Reports on the Events in the Cis-Sutlej Division," PGR,MR, VIII, Part I, p. 8; also Cave-Browne, The Punjab and Delhi in 1857, I, p. 222.

[52]Temple, Men and Events of My Time in India, p. 140.

[53]Ibid., p. 141.

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[54]Cave-Browne, The Punjab and Delhi in 1857, II, p. 272.

[55]A letter to the editor from a civil servant in the Punjab, The Times, September 2, 1857.

[56]Bosworth Smith, Life of Lord Lawrence, I, pp. 394-396.

[57]John Lawrence to the Duke of Argyle, February 19, 1865, John Lawrence Collection: Miscellaneous Letters to Lord Lawrence, 1863-1868, Vol. XXXIX. The census report of 1872 seems to confirm John Lawrence's statement that he did not treat the jageerdars harshly, because this census report showed that a large number of the 56,000 jageerdars in the Punjab were Sikhs and against the 20 million-odd cultivable acres of land paying revenue to the Government there were nearly 4.5 million cultivable acres which were designated as jageers or Land Assignments. See "Report on the Census of the Punjab taken on 10th January, 1868," Census of India, 1872, pp. 13 and 28.

[58]Punjab Government to Government of India, May 19, 1857, PGR,MC, VII, Part I, p. 43.

[59]Cooper, Deputy Commissioner of Amritsar, to Roberts, Commissioner of Lahore Division, February 19, 1858, PGR,MR, VIII, Part I, pp. 269-270.

[60]Gazetteer of the Amritsar District, 1883-84, p. 27.

[61]Ibid., p. 28.

[62]Loc. cit.

[63]Gazetteer of the Gurdaspur District, 1883-4, p. 38.

[64]Ibid., p. 40.

[65]Ibid., p. 41.

[66]Cave-Browne, The Punjab and Delhi in 1857, I, p. 178.

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[67]Cooper, The Crisis in the Punjab, p. 131.

[68]Gazetteer of the Amritsar District, 1883-4, p. 26.

[69]A letter to the editor, The Times, September 2, 1857; also, Gazetteer of the Amritsar District, 1883-4, pp. 26-27.

[70]Punjab Government to Government of India, May 17, 1857, PGR,MC, VII, Part I, p. 37.

[71]Brandreth, Officiating Secretary to the Chief Commissioner from June to October, 1857, quoted in Bosworth Smith, Life of Lord Lawrence, II, pp. 97-99.

[72]Major E. J. Lake, "Report on Events in the Trans-Sutlej Division," PGR,MR, VIII, Part I, p. 155. (The regiment raised at Ludhiana consisted entirely of Sikhs, and, in addition, Sikhs were overwhelmingly employed for the additional police battalions. See Gazetteer of the Ludhiana District, 1888-9, p. 32.)

[73]The Punjab Government to the Government of India, June 19, 1857, PGR,MC, VII, Part I, p. 142.

[74]Edward Thornton, Commissioner of the Jhelum Division, "Reports on Events in the Jhelum Division," PGR,MR, VIII, Part I, pp. 327-328.

[75]Cooper, The Crisis in the Punjab, p. 163.

[76]Cooper, Deputy Commissioner of Amritsar, to Roberts, Commissioner of Lahore Division, August 5, 1857, PGR,MC, VII, Part I, pp. 395-396.

[77]Maharaja Ranjit Singh never paid his troops regularly; sometimes he held back the pay of his regiments for as long as eighteen months and when the discontented soldiers mutinied he was obliged to disband them. (See excerpts from the journal of William Osborne, Military Secretary to Lord Auckland, cited in Michael Edwardes, The Necessary Hell, (London, 1958), p. 103.) During the anarchy that prevailed in Lahore after Ranjit Singh's death, many Sikhs regiments assassinated their regimental accountants whom they suspected of cheating them of their pay. Again, the Sikh regiments stationed in Kashmir mutinied and put to death the

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Governor of Kashmir, Meean Singh, when their demand for arrears of pay was not satisfied. (See Cunningham, A History of the Sikhs, p. 249 and Major G. Carmichael-Smyth, A History of the Reigning Family of Lahore, (re-printed under the authority of the Government of West Pakistan in 1961), p. 205.

[78]See W. S. R. Hodson, Twelve Years of a Soldier's Life in India, (London, 1859), p. 396, n. 1; Captain Lionel J. Trotter, The Life of John Nicholson, (London, 1898), p. 305.

[79]See the translation of a Punjabi ballad in John Lawrence Collection: Miscellaneous Letters to Lord Lawrence, 1864-1867, Vol. XLI, p. 335.

[80]Bosworth Smith, Life of Lord Lawrence, I, p. 258.

[81]While expressing regret that the sensibilities of the sepoys arising from their castes and orthodox religious ideas were looked down upon by the British as cumbersome and undesirable things for military service, a high-ranking army officer of the mid-Victorian period has shown that caste considerations sometimes made the treatment of the sick sepoys a real problem for the army doctors. See Major General G. Le Grand Jacob, Western India Before and During the Mutiny, (London, 1871), pp. 142-143. The freer and simpler habits of the Sikhs presented a sharp contrast to those of the caste-minded sepoys, so much so that the Sikhs, and even other Punjabis, presented to their officers little problem in adopting the use of the new Enfield cartridge. A few weeks before the mutiny of sepoys at Meerut and Delhi, the Chief Commissioner of the Punjab, John Lawrence, during his visit to the school of musketry at Siàlkot, was gratified to note the readiness of the Punjabi soldiers to learn the new system of firing the cartridge. (See John Lawrence to Canning, May 4, 1857, John Lawrence Collection: Miscellaneous Letters to Lord Lawrence, 1863-1868, Vol. XXXIX.

[82]Keith Young to wife, June 27, 1857, Keith Young, Delhi, 1857, p. 86; Captain O. J. Farrington, Deputy Commissioner of Jullundur, to Major E. Lake, Commissioner of the Trans-Sutlej Division, June 18, 1857, PGR,MC, VII, Part I, p. 265.

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[83]Letter No. 21, June 14, 1857, Greathead, Letters Written During the Siege of Delhi, p. 45.

[84]Zaka-u-Allah, Tareekhi Arooji Ehedi Inglishia (in Urdu), p. 549, cited in R. A. Ja'fri, Bahadur Shah Zafar aur oon ka Ehed (in Urdu), (Lahore, 1955), p. 776. Also Griffiths, A Narrative of the Siege of Delhi, 1857, p. 35.

[85]R. A. Ja'fri, Bahadur Shah Zafar aur oon ka Ehed (in Urdu), p. 1111.

[86]Griffiths, A Narrative of the Siege of Delhi, 1857, pp. 226-232; Keith Young to wife, September 19, 1857, Keith Young, Delhi, 1857, p. 297.

[87]Zaka-u-Allah, Tareekhi Arooji Ehedi Inglishia (in Urdu), p. 499, cited in Ja'fri, Bahadur Shah Zafar aur oon ka Ehed (in Urdu), pp. 776-777.

[88]John William Kaye, A History of the Sepoy War in India, 1857-1858, II, (London, 1870), p. 420.

[89]Cave-Browne, The Punjab and Delhi in 1857, I, pp. 152-153; Cooper, The Crisis in the Punjab, p. 57.

[90]Cooper, The Crisis in the Punjab, p. 190.

[91]Ibid., p. 187.

[92]Punjab Admin. Report, 1856-58, pp. 495-496.

[93]The supposed treasonable correspondence from the Manjha Sikhs urging their exiled leaders to return to the Punjab from Calcutta and lead them in a rebellion against the British were found to be complete forgeries. (See Punjab Government to Government of India, August 21, 1857, PGR,MC, VII, Part I, p. 410.) Nor did the Manjha Sikhs receive from or send to the King of Delhi any message during the crisis of 1857. See The Trial of Mohammed Bahadur Shah, Punjab Government Records, Monograph No. 15, (Lahore, 1932), p. 280.

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[94]Temple, Men and Events of My Time in India, p. 150.

[95]Wood to Canning, December 25, 1859, Halifax Papers (India Office Library Mss. Eur. F. 78): Letter Book of Sir Charles Wood, Vol. II, p. 50.

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[1]The nawab of Jhajjar, raja of Balbgarh, and the Moslem ruler of Farakhnagar were tried and convicted on the charges of rebellion against the British Government. All three were hanged at Delhi. Their fiefs and moveable property were confiscated. The chief of Dadri, a petty state near Delhi, was banished to Lahore and his estate was also revoked. The King of Delhi was convicted of the crime of rebellion and of being an accomplice in the murder of 49 Europeans inside his palace. He was exiled to Rangoon. (See Punjab Admin. Report, 1856-58, p. 492.) Before the mutiny the Poorbeahs [the down Easters], or the Hindustanis, not only preponderated in the Bengal Army, but also monopolized junior civil service posts in the Punjab. (Refer to page 129). However, the general disaffection of the Hindustanis in 1857 ended their hold over the army and civil service. The Sikhs quickly replaced them as the recipients of Government patronage through employment to public offices.

[2]Punjab Admin. Report, 1856-58, p. 481.

[3]Cave-Browne, The Punjab and Delhi in 1857, II, pp. 236-237.

[4]Griffin, The Rajas of the Punjab, p. 239 and Cave-Browne, The Punjab and Delhi in 1857, II, p. 238.

[5]Punjab Admin. Report, 1856-58, p. 492.

[6]Punjab Admin. Report, 1856-58, p. 492; Griffin, The Rajas of the Punjab, pp. 393-394.

[7]Punjab Admin. Report, 1856-58, p. 492; Griffin, The Rajas of the Punjab, p. 466.

[8]Griffin, The Rajas of the Punjab, pp. 244-254. See also Wood to Canning, March 19, 1860, Halifax Papers: Letter Book of Sir Charles Wood, Vol. II, p. 212. The right of adoption was later given to other princes of the Punjab, be they Sikh, Hindu, or Moslem. However, the credit for paving the way for other princes to receive this important

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privilege, which changed Government's long established policy of disallowing the claims of an adopted son or the nearest collateral of a chief (for that matter Maharaja Ranjit Singh too had never allowed such a claim), goes to the wisdom and farsightedness of the three Phulkian chiefs of Patiala, Jind, and Nabha.

[9]Cave-Browne, The Punjab and Delhi in 1857, II, pp. 245-247.

[10]Ibid., pp. 248-249. Also, Griffin, The Rajas of the Punjab, pp. 578-579.

[11]Ja'fri, Bahadur Shah Zafar aur oon ka Ehed, (in Urdu), p. 1291.

[12]Ibid., p. 1270.

[13]Ibid., p. 1269.

[14]Ibid., p. 1265.

[15]Ibid., pp. 1263-1264.

[16]Gazetteer of the Gurdaspur District, 1883-84, p. 40.

[17]Gazetteer of the Gujranwala District, 1883-4, p. 15.

[18]Gazetteer of the Amritsar District, 1883-84, p. 28.

[19]Ibid., pp. 26-27.

[20]Ibid., p. 26.

[21]Canning to Wood, February 27, 1860, Halifax Papers: Letter Book of Sir Charles Wood, Vol. III.

[22]Wood to Canning, April 18, 1860, Halifax Papers: Letter Book of Sir Charles Wood, Vol. III, p. 28.

[23]Montgomery to Canning, July-August, 1859, Canning Papers: Private Secretary's Correspondence IV, Serial No. 5833; Montgomery to Canning, August 1, 1860, Canning Papers:

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Letters from the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, Serial No. 34; Canning to Wood, July 22, 1861, Halifax Papers: Letter Book of Sir Charles Wood, Vol. VIII.

[24]Canning to Wood, February 27, 1860, Halifax Papers: Letter Book of Sir Charles Wood, Vol. III.

[25]Wood to Canning, August 10, 1860, Halifax Papers: Letter Book of Sir Charles Wood, Vol. IV, pp. 8-10.

[26]Wood to Canning, September 24, 1860, Ibid., p. 180.

[27]Montgomery to Canning, July 20, 1860, and November 9, 1860, Canning Papers: Letters from the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, Serial Nos. 28 and 40.

[28]Montgomery to Canning, October 16, 1860, and July 24, 1861, Ibid., Serial Nos. 39 and 47.

[29]Wood, the Secretary of State for India, personally urged on Elgin, Canning's successor, not to alter his predecessor's policy of extending privileges and honours to the Sikh chiefs and sirdars. See Wood to Elgin, June 26, 1862, Halifax Papers: Letter Book of Sir Charles Wood, Vol. X, p. 322.

[30]Lawrence to Maine, July 22, 1867, John Lawrence Collection: Letters to Members of Council, 1867-1868, Vol. XIV, Serial No. 20.

[31]Khushwant Singh, A History of the Sikhs, (Princeton, New Jersey, 1966), II, p. 141.

[32]Tribune (of Lahore), November 15, 1889, cited in Khushwant Singh, A History of the Sikhs, II, p. 142.

[33]Elgin to Hamilton, April 5, 1898, Elgin Papers (India Office Library Mss. Eur. F. 84); Letters to the Secretary of State for India, Vol. XVI, pp. 44-46.

[34]Even the Sikh princes began to show greater confidence in the counsels of British political agents. For instance, in 1867 the ruler of Nabha, having fallen into

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debt of over four lakhs of rupees, begged the political agent to take the management of his state into his own hands. In the same year the young chief of Patiala also admitted mismanagement of his state and was helped out of his difficulties by the political agent. (See McLeod to Lawrence, May 4, 1867, and December 24, 1867, John Lawrence Collection: Letters from the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, 1867-1868, Vol. XXVIII, Serial Nos. 16 and 28.). This attitude of reposing confidence on Government and inviting its direct interference in the affairs of their states was in marked contrast to the pre-mutiny disposition of the Sikh princes to avoid Government assistance.

[35] Punjab Admin. Report, 1856-58, p. 496.

[36] Dalhousie, May 21, 1852, and September 18, 1854, Private Letters, pp. 200-201 and p. 321.

[37] The extent of British distrust of the Sikhs can be judged from the rebukes which Dalhousie had to take from his countrymen for his decision in 1849 to enlist into the British army a few real Sikhs of the disbanded Khalsa army. (See Dalhousie, July 10, 1849, Private Letters, pp. 84-85.)

[38] Metcalfe, Two Native Narratives of the Mutiny in Delhi, pp. 37-38.

[39] Wood to Canning, September 19, 1859, and October 26, 1859, Halifax Papers: Letter Book of Sir Charles Wood, Vol. I, pp. 126-132 and p. 192.

[40] Lawrence to McLeod, January 3, 1867, John Lawrence Collection: Letters to the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, 1864-1867, Vol. XXIX, Serial No. 82.

[41] Cranborne to Lawrence, February 18, 1867, and Northcote to Lawrence, October 1, 1867, John Lawrence Collection: Letters from the Secretary of State, 1867, Vol. IV, Serial Nos. 7 and 41.

[42] P. H. Kaul, "The Report on the Census of the Punjab," Census of India, 1911, Vol. XIV, Punjab, Part II, Table XVI A, Group No. 139, pp. 438-439.

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[43]Montgomery to Canning, July 20, 1860, Canning Papers: Letters from the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, Serial No. 28.

[44]Kaul, Census of India, 1911, Vol. XIV, Punjab, Part II, Table XVI A, Group No. 139, pp. 438-439.

[45]Khushwant Singh, A History of the Sikhs, II, p. 113, n. 39.

[46]Griffin, Ranjit Singh, p. 26.

[47]Wood to Elgin, May 19, 1862, Halifax Papers: Letter Book of Sir Charles Wood, Vol. X, p. 250.

[48]Ibid.

[49]M. Ja'fr Thanesari, Tawareekhi Ajeeb (in Urdu), (Multan, West Pakistan, A reprint), p. 73.

[50]Gazetteer of the Ludhiana District, 1888-89, p. 82; M. Darling, The Punjab Peasant in Prosperity and Debt, (Oxford, Fourth Edition, 1947; first published in 1925), p. 35.

[51]Darling, The Punjab Peasant in Prosperity and Debt, p. 117. The new prosperity which came to the Punjab from the development of the canal colonies led to a sharp rise in the price of the cultivated land in the province. For example, in the 1860s the average rate per cultivated acre was nearly 10 rupees, but toward the close of the first decade of the 20th century this rate was about 120 rupees an acre. (See H. Calvert, The Wealth and Welfare of the Punjab, (Lahore, Second Edition, 1936, first published in 1922), p. 219.

[52]Khushwant Singh, A History of the Sikhs, II, p. 142.

[53]Tribune (of Lahore), October 23, 1890, cited in Khushwant Singh, A History of the Sikhs, II, pp. 142-143, n. 18.

[54]Khushwant Singh, A History of the Sikhs, II, p. 144.

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[55]Dalhousie, May 7, 1849, Private Letters, p. 69.

[56]E. D. Maclagan, "The Report on the Census of the Punjab," Census of India, 1891, Vol. XIX, Punjab, p. 96.

[57]Gazetteer of the Amritsar District, 1883-4, p. 21; Gazetteer of the Hoshiarpur District, 1883-4, p. 45.

[58]Ibbetson, "Report on the Census of the Punjab Taken on 17th of February, 1881," Census of India, 1881, Vol. I, Punjab, p. 48.

[59]Maclagan, Census of India, 1891, Vol. XIX, Punjab, pp. 95-96.

[60]H. A. Rose, "The Report on the Census of the Punjab," Census of India, 1901, Vol. XVII, Punjab, p. 122; Kaul, Census of India, 1911, Vol. XIV, Punjab, Part I, pp. 153 and 3. The Sikh totals from 1868 to 1911 were as follows: 1,144,090 in 1868; 1,716,114 in 1881; 1,870,481 in 1891; 2,130,987 in 1901; and 2,883,729 in 1911. (See also "Report on the Census of the Punjab Taken on 10th January, 1868," Census of India, 1872, p. 7; Census of India, 1881, Vol. I, Punjab, p. 101; Census of India, 1891, Vol. XIX, Punjab, p. 93; Census of India, 1901, Vol. XVII, Punjab, p. 122.).

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Letters from the Chief Commissioner of the Punjab, 1856-1859, Microfilm R 497:2, Library of the University of British Columbia,

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Letters to the Secretary of State for India, 1898, Vol. XVI, Microfilm R 1415:2, Library of the University of British Columbia, from the original in the India Office Library, London.

Halifax Papers (India Office Library Mss. Eur. F. 78):

Letter Book of Sir Charles Wood, Vols. I-IV, (1859-1860), Vol. VIII (1861), Vol. X (1862), Microfilm R 1411:1-3, Library of the University of British Columbia, from the originals in the India Office Library, London.

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from the originals in the India Office Library, London.

II.PRINTED OFFICIAL SOURCES

1. Great Britain:

a. <u>Hansard's Parliamentary Debates</u>

Vol. CXLV, 1857, House of Lords,
Vol. CXLVI, 1857, House of Lords,
Vol. CXLVII, 1857, House of Commons,
Vol. CXLVIII, 1857-1858, House of Lords.

The debates recorded in these volumes reveal the attitude of Palmerston's Government to the Mutiny and explain the reasons why reinforcements from Britain did not reach India in time.

b. Parliamentary Papers

1847, Vol. XLI, Administration During Duleep Singh's Minority. A very valuable source. It provides information about the circumstances which led to the appointment of a British Resident at the Sikh Durbar.

1854, Vol. LXIX, Punjab Administration Report for the Years 1849-50 and 1850-51. An essential source of information for the thesis. This exhaustive report not only reviews the social and material progress made by the Punjab during the first three years (it includes the year 1852) of British rule but also gives detailed information about the land, races, customs, trades, occupations, and numerous other aspects of the new province. The comparative analysis of the Sikh and British administrations made in it is invaluable for the historian of this era. The authors of this report, namely, Henry Lawrence, John Lawrence, and Robert Montgomery, were not only contemporary figures but had been involved with the Sikh administration for two years prior to the annexation.

1856, Vol. XLV, Dalhousie's Minute of February 28, 1856, Reviewing his Administration in India, from January 1848 to March 1856. A very useful source which explains why the Punjab was Dalhousie's "pet province." It includes Dalhousie's explanation for annexing the Sikh kingdom and review of the public works program in the Punjab.

1857-58, Vol. XXXVII, Return of the Actual Force that was in India at the Time of the Mutiny at Meerut.

1859, Vol. XVIII, Punjab Administration Report for 1856-57 and 1857-58. This Administration Report shows how the new institutions had struck firm roots in the Punjab during the eight post-annexation years. The Report is a landmark indicating the end of the transitional period in the Punjab. It also covered the sepoy mutiny and throws light on the attitude of the Sikhs toward the British at that time.

1867, Vol. LXXII, Statistical Abstract Relating to British India, 1840-1865.

1870, Vol. LIII, East India (Irrigation Works). A useful source of information about the irrigation works in the Punjab and other provinces. Revenue reports of the Irrigation Department of the Punjab provide first hand data regarding the progress of the Bari Doab Canal and the canal projects of the 1870s.

2. India:

a. Census of India, 1872,

"Report on the Census of the Punjab taken on 10th January, 1868," Microfiche Card 261, Box Series 6, Library of the University of British Columbia.

Census of India, 1881, Vol. I,

D. C. J. Ibbetson, "Report on the Census of the Punjab taken on the 17th of February, 1881," Microfiche Cards 588 and 590, Box Series 6, Library of the University of British Columbia.

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E. D. Maclagan, "The Report on the Census of the Punjab, "Microfiche Card 998, Box Series 6, Libary of the University of British Columbia.

Census of India, 1901, Vol. XVII,

H. A. Rose, "The Report on the Census of the Punjab," Microfiche Card 1767, Box Series 6, Library of the University of British Columbia.

Census of India, 1911, Vol. XIV,

P. H. Kaul, "The Report on the Census of the Punjab," Microfiche Cards 2328, 2332, and 2354, Box Series 6, Library of the University of British Columbia,

from the originals in the India Office Library, London.

The Census Reports of 1872 and 1881 proved useful in preparing Chapter 3 of the thesis because they revealed that in the districts of Amritsar, Gurdaspur, Jullundur, Hoshiarpur, Ludhiana, and Ferozepur--the districts in which emergency recruitment during the sepoy mutiny was highly successful--the percentage

of Sikhs was higher than in other areas. The Census Report of 1872 also proved useful in writing Chapter 4 since it showed that proprietors of land among the Sikhs outnumbered tenants and that the disproportion among the Hindus and Mohammedans is much less. The statistics in the Report further showed that almost one-fifth of the total cultivable land was still held by jageerdars, the majority of whom were Sikhs. Since these facts clearly suggested that the Sikhs were not harshly treated by the British after the annexation of the Punjab, the Report in question provided valuable clues to the motives of the Sikhs for helping the British during the sepoy rebellion. Moreover, all the above-listed Census Reports proved valuable in preparing Chapter 5 inasmuch as they gave the rates of increase in the Sikh aggregates during the half century following the Mutiny as well as the reasons for the increases in the Sikh population. The tables of the Census Report of 1911 proved further useful by showing that the Sikhs in general, and Sikh Jats in particular, were given preference for military service.

b. India Gazetteers, Punjab Series (Compiled and Published under the authority of the Punjab Government), Microfiche copies, Library of the University of British Columbia.

Gazetteer of the Amritsar District, 1883-4, Microfiche Card 2179, Box Series 3.

Gazetteer of the Gujranwala District, 1883-4, Microfiche Card 2302, Box Series 3.

Gazetteer of the Gurdaspur District, 1883-4, Microfiche Card 2346, Box Series 3.

Gazetteer of the Hoshiarpur District, 1883-4, Microfiche Card 2448, Box Series 3.

Gazetteer of the Ludhiana District, 1888-89, Microfiche Card 2637, Box Series 3,

from the originals in the India Office Library, London.

The gazetteers of the Punjab districts provide invaluable information regarding the social and economic importance of the Sikhs at the district level, and, having been compiled by the district officials from local records, the gazetteers are an authentic history of the rise or decline, of rewards or punishments, of all the leading Sikh families, according to the part played by each family during the Sikh Wars and the sepoy mutiny.

For the purposes of Chapter 3 the Gazetteers of the Gurdaspur and Gujranwala Districts gave useful information about the role of the Sikhs in these areas during the mutiny. The Gurdaspur Gazetteer revealed that the Sikh Jageerdars and sirdars made spontaneous preparations, without being approached by the British, to defend their towns against the raids of the Sialkot mutineers. The Gujranwala Gazetteer unfolded how the local Sikh levy overawed the disaffected Mohammedan population of that region.

The Gazetteers of the Amritsar and Gurdaspur Districts also proved helpful in discussing the motives of the Sikhs in Chapter 4 of this thesis, because these two Gazetteers throw light on the attitude of the Sikh families toward the British in 1857. The accounts of the spontaneous offers of help by these Sikh families and the distinguished services rendered by them to the British, especially the loyal services of those Sikh families which were blacklisted as the political enemies of the British, make these two Gazetteers extremely useful sources for investigating the primary motives of the Sikhs for helping the British. The Gazetteer of the Ludhiana District unfolded the story of the creation of this district in 1847 from the confiscated lands of the Cis-Sutlej Sikhs chiefs, who helped the invading Sikh army in 1846. The account of this episode, so close in time to the crisis of 1857, was found necessary to understand the motives of reward and punishment of the Sikhs.

To discuss the extent and nature of the rewards of the Sikhs in Chapter 5 The Gazetteers of Amritsar, Gujranwala, and Gurdaspur Districts gave further useful information. Some explanations for the relatively lower rate of increase in the Sikh population between 1870 and 1880 were also given in the Gazetteers of Amritsar and Hoshiarpur Districts and in this respect they supplemented the information collected from the Census reports. All this information about the rewards and the trends in the growth of the Sikh was advantageous in writing Chapter 5.

c. Proceedings of the Legislative Council of India, (1860), Vol. VI, Microfilm R 585:2, Library of the University of British Columbia, from the originals in the India Office Library, London. The Memo of Surplus and Deficit in the Revenues and Charges shows how the Sikh Wars considerably increased the deficit. The figures given in the Memo proved helpful in preparing Chapter 2.

d. Punjab Government Records

Records of the Delhi Residency and Agency, 1807-1857, (Lahore, 1911), Vol. I. The records which comprise Vol. I not only expose the intimate life of the royal family of Delhi but also give an authentic history of the British relations with the Sikh chiefs of the Cis-Sutlej states between 1807 and 1857. Some information found in this volume was used in Chapter 3.

Mutiny Correspondence, (Lahore, 1911), Vol. VII, Part I.

Mutiny Reports, (Lahore, 1911), Vol. VIII, Parts I and II. Volumes VII and VIII of the Punjab Government Records contain the official and semi-official letters and reports by the numerous civil and military officers who were directly involved in the difficult duty of suppressing the mutinies in the Punjab and Delhi. These two volumes are indispensable for any historical research on the mutinies of 1857-58. These volumes provided very valuable information for Chapter 3 and Chapter 4.

Monograph 15: The Trial of Mohammed Bahadur Shah, (Lahore, 1932). This Monograph was used to prove that the Sikhs of the Trans-Sutlej districts of the Punjab were not guilty of duplicity and they never communicated with the rebels of Delhi.

III. PRINTED UNOFFICIAL SOURCES

1. Documents:

Baird, J. G. A., ed., Private Letters of Marquess of Dalhousie, (London, 1911). Most useful source material for understanding Dalhousie's character and the motives which guided his actions. His attitudes toward the Sikhs and his subordinates are manifested in many of his letters.

Greathead, H. H., Letters Written During the Siege of Delhi, (London, 1858). Greathead, who accompanied Wilson's force from Meerut as the political agent of the Lt.-Governor of North-Western Provinces, wrote these letters to his wife during the Delhi

campaign. His letters give invaluable information about the hardships and the feelings of the Sikhs, and the Europeans, in the Field Force before Delhi. Greathead died of cholera five days after the city was assaulted.

Gupta, H. R., ed., Punjab on the Eve of First Sikh War, (Punjab University, 1956). This work is a collection of the Punjab Newsletters for the period December 30, 1843, to October 31, 1844. The Newsletters provide first hand information about the anarchic conditions in the Sikh kingdom. The editor, who is an authority on Sikh history, has made the edition extremely valuable by adding an exhaustive "Preface" and annotations.

2. Newspapers:

The Times, London.

3. Contemporary Works:

Bosworth Smith, Life of Lord Lawrence, 2 vols., (London, 1883). A valuable source because the narrative is based on eyewitness accounts of events. The author was himself not far removed from the age of the Lawrences and so had the opportunity of personally questioning many survivors of the Lawrence era. The personal letters of John Lawrence and other contemporary manuscripts used by the author further make this biography informative.

Carmichael-Smyth, Major G., ed., A History of the Reigning Family of Lahore, (Lahore, Reprinted in 1961 under the authority of Government of West Pakistan). The real author of this work was Alexander Houghton Gardiner who served as a captain in the Sikh Artillery for over 13 years. Captain Gardiner and Carmichael-Smyth, who edited Gardiner's work, first entered into relations in 1842 when Carmichael-Smyth was stationed at Karnal serving under Broadfoot, the Agent to the Governor-General of India on the North-Western Frontier. Although Broadfoot never lived to see the work of his subordinate, it was he who had urged Carmichael-Smyth to publish Captain Gardiner's work. Gardiner was an eye-witness to the intrigues of political factions after the death of Maharaja Ranjit Singh in 1839 till the defeat of the Sikhs at Sobraon in 1846 and his work chiefly deals with this period of Sikh history. Gardiner's work has proved very useful to me in understanding the character of the Sikh Jat soldiery and particularly in learning how the Sikh soldiery had become tired of their unscrupulous leaders and were always on the brink of mutiny.

Cave-Browne, Rev. J., The Punjab and Delhi in 1857, 2 vols., (London, 1861). The usefulness of this work lies in the facts that the author, in his capacity as the chaplain of Nicholson's Moveable Column, travelled with this unit from the Punjab to Delhi; he observed the mood and disposition of the Sikh population, witnessed many a scene he has described, and received generous help in preparing this work from friends and strangers who were instrumental in crushing the mutinies.

Cooper, Frederick, The Crisis in the Punjab, (London, 1858). During the sepoy mutiny the author was the Deputy Commissioner of Amritsar. As ruler of the district which is the heartland of the Sikhs, Cooper was in a good position to estimate the disposition of the Sikhs during the mutiny and their motives for helping the British.

Cunningham, J. D., A History of the Sikhs, (London, 1849). A scholarly work, written with a great sense of fairness. The author himself spent many years in the Punjab as a British political officer employed during the reign of Ranjit Singh. He ends his work with the first defeat of the Sikhs in early 1846. Cunningham's work has been singularly useful in learning about the anarchical conditions which prevailed in the Punjab after Ranjit's death and about the attitudes of the Punjabis toward the British. The author was demoted for revealing governmental secrets in his History. He died at Ambala in 1851.

Edwardes, Herbert and Merivale, Herman, Life of Sir Henry Lawrence, (London, 1873). An interesting biography of a great man, whose greatness lay in his nobility and in the high esteem in which he was held by the Sikhs. It is invaluable as source material because its author, Edwardes, was Henry's personal friend and colleague. The finishing touches to the book were perforce given by Merivale because the original author, Edwardes, died in 1868 after completing most of the work. The copies of the personal correspondence of Henry, which abound in the narrative, make this work still more useful.

Griffin, Lepel Henry, The Rajas of the Punjab, (Lahore, 1870). A very exhaustive history of the political relations of the British with the Sikh states of the Cis-Sutlej during the first 65 years of the 19th century. The author, who was a member of the Bengal Civil Service and held the post of Under Secretary to the Punjab Government was himself not far removed in time from the events of the period covered in his work. However, this work is well annotated and its

author has obviously made use of a mass of materials including the official correspondence, the political records of the Government and the Agencies of Delhi, Ambala, and Ludhiana, and the family and state records of the chiefs concerned. As a detailed and factual history of British-Sikh relations this work has been extremely useful to me not only in finding the extent of help given by the Sikh chiefs to the British during the sepoy mutiny but also in assessing their motives for helping the British and in learning about their rewards which they received from the British.

Griffiths, Charles John, A Narrative of the Siege of Delhi, 1857, (London, 1910). Another eye-witness account of the siege of Delhi. When the sepoy mutiny broke out in May 1857, the author held a commission as a lieutenant in Her Majesty's 61 Regiment which was at the time stationed at Ferozepur in the Punjab. Later the author went with his corps to Delhi and took part in the final assault on the city.

Hodson, Major W. S. R., Twelve Years of a Soldier's Life in India, (London, 1859). Being a collection of letters and bulletins sent by Hodson to his wife during the march to Delhi from Ambala with the Field Force and during the siege of Delhi, this work is essential for understanding the behaviour of the Sikhs with the Field Force. In view of the fact that Hodson was the head of the Intelligence Department of the Field Force and perhaps knew more than any other officer about the enemy side, his letters become all the more precious as source material. After the fall of Delhi Hodson accompanied the Sikhs to Lucknow and kept sending to his wife, who lived in Simla at the time, the accounts of his men's deeds. He was mortally wounded in Lucknow on March 12, 1858.

Inglis, Lady Julia, The Siege of Lucknow, (London, 1892). The authoress, who was one of the Europeans besieged by the mutineers in Lucknow Residency, compiled this work from her personal diary which she had kept during the siege of Lucknow. Her diary gives a vivid and accurate account of each day's events and of the heroic part played by the Sikhs in the defence and relief of Lucknow. By adding in her work excerpts from the notes of other besieged Europeans Lady Inglis has rendered her work very useful for the historians of the mutiny.

Jacob, Sir George Le Grand, Western India Before and During the Mutinies, (London, 1871). The author, a political officer in Western India, claimed to have an intimate knowledge of the character of the natives and the sepoys and in his work he indeed makes very objective and sincere observations about the evils of British rule as far as the Indians were concerned. Criticising the progressive measures and the expansionist policy of British administrations in India from the expiration of the Company's Charter of 1833 to the outbreak of the sepoy mutiny in 1857, the author argues that during that period the British commanders paid too little attention to the idiosyncracies of the natives and that the mutiny was an outburst of pent-up hatred and discontent. The author's observations on the prejudices and idiosyncracies of the Hindu and Moslem sepoys were helpful in permitting me to see that the relative freedom from the prejudices of caste and race in the character of the Sikhs made social contact between the British and the Sikh regiments much easier.

Kaye, J. W., A History of the Sepoy War in India, 1857-1858, (London, 1870). This work is considered one of the definitive studies of the sepoy mutiny. The third and last volume was completed by Col. Malleson. Kaye does not reveal his sources; he does this, he claims, to preserve the force of the narrative. Volume II of Kaye's work contains the author's views about the motives of the Sikhs for helping the British during the sepoy mutiny, and so I found it especially useful in preparing the fourth chapter of my thesis.

Metcalfe, Charles Theophilus, Two Native Narratives of the Mutiny in India, (Westminster, 1898). A long-time officer of the Indian Police Service, Metcalfe rendered in his work an honest translation of two original narratives of events in and around Delhi written from the pen of two educated natives, who resided, during the mutiny, within the walls of the city of Delhi and were closely associated with the court of the King of Delhi. The first part of Metcalfe's work is a translation of the narrative by Main-u-din, who gave his papers to Metcalfe in 1878, after receiving a promise from the latter that the contents of his papers would not be published during his (Main-u-din's) lifetime. Main-u-din died seven years later. The second part of this work is translations of the original diary kept by the King's private secretary, Jiwan Lal, and the official court diary kept by the Maulvi

(chaplain) of the King's private mosque in the Palace. After the mutiny Jiwan Lal gave both diaries to Metcalfe. Since very few trustworthy narratives of the mutiny written by contemporary natives are available, the value to the historian of the translations of the narratives by Main-u-din and Jiwan Lal cannot be exaggerated.

Temple, Richard, Men and Events of My Time in India, (London, 1882). An account of the experiences of a distinguished Indian civil servant who spent part of his earlier career in the Punjab. The author served as secretary to the Punjab Board of Administration, 1849-53, and after 1853 he became for some time the district officer of Gujarat district, leaving the charge of the district to become John Lawrence's personal secretary. He assisted in drafting the first and fourth Punjab Administration Reports. The author's personal knowledge of the conditions in the Punjab makes his work in question a very valuable source.

________________, Lord Lawrence, (London, 1889). A concise and useful biographical account.

Thanesari, M. Ja'fr, Tawareekhi Ajeeb (in Urdu), (Multan, West Pakistan, A reprint). A very touching autobiography of a young Mohammedan of Thanesar who was prosecuted on charges of sedition and rebellion during the sepoy mutiny and was sentenced in 1864 to transportation for life. After serving the sentence on the Andaman Islands for 17 years the author received a pardon from Government and returned home for reunion with his wife and children. As an original source of information this work vividly illustrates the socio-economic ruination after the mutiny of the Mohammedan inhabitants of Delhi and its surrounding territory. It also reveals the over-eagerness of the Indians, of all faiths, and the depths to which they sank morally, to earn rewards from Government by helping the police in effecting arrests of political suspects, or by offering to act as crown witnesses, willing to even give false depositions. Furthermore, by showing the presence of the Sikh police officers in the Andaman Islands, the work in question clearly attests to the ascending social status of the Sikhs after the mutiny through the patronage of Government; in this respect this work proved helpful in discussing the rewards of the Sikhs for helping the British during the mutiny.

Wilson, General Sir Archdale, "The Mutiny Day by Day," The Journal of the United Services Institution of India, LI, (July-Oct.,1921), LII (July, 1922). Another very valuable source which contains first-hand accounts of the long siege of Delhi and the final assault on Lucknow. Personal letters of Wilson to his wife written during his campaigns of Delhi and Lucknow make up this work. As commander of the Field Force General Wilson was in a unique position to evaluate the services rendered by the Sikhs under his command and his pen does full justice to their loyalty and courage. By adding the appendix containing some general orders and notifications of Government of India and the numerous reports of the commanders on major engagement with the mutineers the editor has greatly enhanced the historical value of this work.

Young, Colonel Keith, Delhi, 1857, (London, 1902). As the Judge-Advocate General of the Bengal Army, Colonel Young accompanied the Commander-in-Chief and the Field Force to Delhi. During his journey from Ambala to Delhi and during the siege of Delhi, Young faithfully kept his personal diary and frequently wrote to Mrs. Young who was then at Simla. Young's diary and letters, which compile this work, form an invaluable source explaining the weaknesses and strength of the British position before Delhi and the importance to the British of the help from the Sikhs. Objectivity in the diary and letters of Young is manifested by his simple, direct, and dispassionate style.

IV. SECONDARY WORKS

1. Books:

Bearce, G. D., British Attitudes Towards India, 1784-1858, (New York, 1961).

Boulger, D., Bentinck, (Oxford, 1892)

Calvert, H., The Wealth and Welfare of the Punjab, (Lahore, Second Edition, 1936, first printed in 1922).

Darling, M., The Punjab Peasant in Prosperity and Debt, (Oxford, Fourth Edition, 1947, first printed in 1925).

Edwardes, Michael, The Necessary Hell, (London, 1958).

Griffin, Lepel, Ranjit Singh, (Delhi, First Indian Reprint, 1957). This book was first published in 1892.

Gupta, Hari Ram, History of the Sikhs, 3 vols., (Lahore, 1944).

Hardinge, Charles Viscount, Hardinge, Ed. Sir W. W. Hunter, (Oxford, 1891).

Huttenback, R. A., "The French Threat to India and British Relations with Sind, 1799-1809," English Historical Review, LXXVI, (1961).

Ja'fri, R. A., Bahadur Shah Zafar aur oon ka Ehed (in Urdu), (Lahore, 1955). This work is valuable to the students of the sepoy mutiny because its narrative is based on the mutiny accounts written by such contemporary literary men as Ghalib, Zaka-u-Allah, Raquam-u-Dola, and Ja'fr Thanesari. The events narrated belong chiefly to the scene of revolt in Delhi; the tone of the author is highly apologetic; at times he almost seems to beg for sympathy for the last of the Mughals. The style and language, though simple and enjoyable, are unequivocally biased in favour of the Islamic state for which all hopes of revival were doomed after the capitulation of Bahadur Shah. The author has also produced in his book an interesting analysis of the motives of the Sikhs for becoming the allies of the British against the King of Delhi. The reward of the Sikhs from the British are also discussed at length by the author.

Khushwant Singh, A History of the Sikhs, 2 vols. (Princeton, New Jersey, Vol. I published in 1963, Vol. II in 1966).

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